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# Latin America Report

No. 2053



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## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### COLLOQUIUM DRAWS PARALLEL BETWEEN ECONOMIES IN SOUTHERN CONE

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 13

[Commentary by Dr Juan Carlos Casas, reprinted from the Argentine daily LA NACION: "Economic Experiences of Uruguay, Argentina and Chile Compared"]

[Text] Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, the countries of the Southern Cone--the real Southern Cone--undoubtedly possess the characteristics that differentiate them from the rest of Latin America and draw them closer to the countries of southern Europe. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that the three countries have endured similar policies of state interventionism and mercantilism, with the logical aftermath of economic decline, traumatic experiences of attempted takeovers by Marxist elements, and now complete turnabouts in quest of more efficient and competitive economies in keeping with the international trade and financial trends.

Hence the importance of meetings to discuss the progress attained on the last score, such as the one sponsored last Tuesday by the Argentine branch of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production (IACCP). Especially when such personalities as Dr Rolf Luders, vicechairman of the BHC [expansion unknown], the largest Chilean management group; engineer Alejandro Vegh Villegas, former minister of economy of Uruguay; and Argentine economists Armando Ribas and Rafael Olarra are attending them. Dr Marcelo Benchetrit, chairman of the sponsoring entity, acted as moderator.

Although the main topic of the meeting was inflation, it was obviously impossible to ignore other closely related subject matters, such as the fiscal deficit, rates of exchange, balance of trade and current accounts, tariffs, interest rates, and movements of capital and currency. Interesting data came to light in the colloquium, as for example, that the outlay of the public sector in relation to the GNP reached the same level in Chile and Argentina during the Marxist regime of Allende and Peronism, respectively. The ratio of the former to the latter was 4 percent. Three years after their fall, the ratio had been drastically reduced to 26 percent [sic] in Chile, while it dropped scarcely a point in Argentina.

On the subject of opening up the economy in the financial area, Uruguay is in the leading position because it has eliminated all obstacles to international financial dealings. Chile, on the other hand, protects its financial system with a sort of tariff (deposit) on all foreign loans for periods of less than 5 years. Our country places itself on an intermediate position with similar protection, but only on loans for periods of less than 1 year.

But regarding commercial transactions, on the other hand, it is Chile that is ahead because of the adoption of a sole import tariff of 10 percent, except for large-size automobiles. This innovation, applied on very short notice--which constituted a real shock treatment according to Luders--did not cause massive bankruptcies and was generally well absorbed by the industrial sector. Thus, the FENSA-MADEMSA refrigerator factory of the aforementioned BHC group currently manufactures 6 models, but offers another 30 imported ones. Now then, its six models are exported to Argentina, Bolivia and Ecuador. Moreover, it exports 80 percent of its power compressor production to Germany, Italy and Turkey. At present, the enterprise exports much more than it imports.

Luders, who besides being a manager is (or better stated, prefers to be) an economist (graduated in Chicago), explained that the lowering of tariffs was partly offset by a reduction of the traditional rate of exchange of the Chilean currency versus the dollar of about 40 percent (in constant terms), which at the same time increased exports. Here, on the other hand, the lowering of tariffs still has not produced significant effects, as attending management representatives critical of it had to admit in a colloquium sponsored last Wednesday by the Financial Executives Institute. Hence the overvaluation of our currency. But in view of the significant increase that is taking place, the handling of the rate of exchange should be done differently next year. The drop in import duties supposedly brought about an increase of 4 percent in the GNP of Chile.

The system of gradual reduction of tariffs, rather much more slower than the Argentine, is only now beginning to be applied in Uruguay. Now then, Uruguayan low prices in comparison with others on this shore have attracted considerable buying from our avid tourists, who, according to engineer Vegh Villegas, represented no less than two-fifths of the overall Uruguayan demand during January and February, and is expected to total one-fifth for the whole year. Unable to meet this sudden rise in demand with increased imports because of the still high tariffs, prices inevitably have had to go up much higher than anticipated. A typical case of imported inflation.

And what has taken place in the area of fiscal deficit? Here the prize goes to the Uruguayans. Actually, the fiscal surplus during the first half of the year absorbed all the domestic private credit expansion, almost all of it to finance exports. But inflation was financed by the emission resulting from an increase in the international reserves. The deficit in Chile dropped from 20 percent of the GNP at the time of Allende to 1.3 percent last year, and it is estimated that there will not be a deficit

this year. With an open economy and no fiscal deficit, any growth in money supply and consequent increase in purchasing power above production is absorbed by more imports. A reduction in money supply has the opposite effect. This has allowed Chile to adopt a fixed rate of exchange at this time, which will enable it to reduce its inflation to the internationally prevailing rate. As Vegh Villegas said, the thing is to manage either the amount of money or the rate of exchange. Chile has opted for the second system. Vegh Villegas seems to favor the latter for Uruguay, seeing that the high tariffs allow no margin for imports to take care of Argentine purchases.

Compared to these two good examples of fiscal discipline, the Argentine performance was somewhat lackluster with its public sector deficit of 4 percent of the GNP, according to Olarra, or of 6 percent, according to Ribas. This deficit, financed in part with domestic credit, drives the interest rate upward to place it above the international level. This attracts capital from abroad and results in the emission of pesos as an offset. The same occurs with the portion of the deficit directly financed with foreign loans.

In such fashion, these emissions finance the deficit and kindle and refuel inflation. The increase in imports and the elimination of a favorable balance of trade will neutralize the inflation that produced those balances, but it will not suppress the resultant deficit. This is especially true with a monetary float that is still limited, like ours, where the emissions that cause the deficit produce large percentage expansions and very strong inflationary results.

The subject matter and discourses, followed by discussions among panel members, were so interesting that they prompted many queries from the scant but select audience. A suggestion to the sponsoring entity is in order at this time: that these meetings with such eminent participants be organized in such a manner as to increase the audience. The purpose is not merely to convince those of us who already believe in the solutions set forth at the colloquium.

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## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### URUGUAY HOPES TO BUY ARGENTINE SURPLUS OIL

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 21 Aug 79 p 7

[Article: "Vegh: Argentina Could Sell Crude to Our Country from Its Surplus"]

[Text] Argentina could be in a position to attain self-sufficiency in petroleum, and could even reach the point of getting a surplus of crude that could be eventually purchased by our country. Such was averred yesterday by counselor Alejandro Vegh Villegas, who addressed the subject in the course of the lectures being conducted at the Primary Education Council in connection with the revision of programs.

Despite his optimism, he pointed out in that connection that when the time came, negotiations would have to be initiated between the two governments to find out whether conditions imposed by the Argentines were favorable to our country.

He also made known his opposition to carrying out barter transactions to obtain the product. On that score he limited himself to commenting that since the Phoenicians invented currency, it is better to pay the set price and to have money to import from wherever it is most convenient. In his opinion, barter transactions generally end up paying an equal or a higher price than a simple cash transaction. "I do not place much trust on bilateral agreements or similar transactions," he said.

Referring to petroleum negotiations, Vegh Villegas pointed out that what is being done at this time is to readjust prices.

### Back Up the System

Commenting on the water power capacity of Uruguay, counselor Alejandro Vegh Villegas explained that the country can meet the demand for several years with the contribution of Salto Grande and Palmar. In spite of that, he added that "some other thermal power plant will have to be installed, however, to provide additional support to the system."



## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### INTER-AMERICAN SEMINAR ON HYDROELECTRICITY SET FOR NOVEMBER

Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 16 Aug 79 p 11

[Article: "Inter-American Seminar on Hydroelectricity"]

[Text] An Inter-American Seminar on Hydroelectricity will be held in the area of the Salto Grande works (Salto and Concordia) on 26-30 November of this year.

The event, which is the second one of this nature to take place, is being sponsored by the Joint Technical Commission (CTM), whose technical administrator, Uruguayan engineer Adolfo Queirolo, is in charge of all the preparations.

Extreme significance is being attached to this international meeting because of the awareness of the urgent need of all countries of the continent to exploit to the utmost their various potential natural resources.

It is believed also that following a thorough exchange of knowledge and information, progress will be made toward the development and implementation of the energy plans of the region.

#### Ample Agenda

The utilization of water as a source of electricity will be discussed from various viewpoints in the course of this seminar, for which the development of numerous topics have been programmed, to wit: hydroelectricity in Argentina and Uruguay; hydroelectric potential and its calculation; hydroelectricity and the energy sector; technologies of hydroelectric generation; hydroelectricity and the industry of the production of goods; operation of systems interconnected to a hydroelectric source; development of systems interconnected to hydroelectric sources; patterns applied to planning, evaluation, operation and optimization; hydroelectricity and multinational integration; hydroelectricity and the quality of life; hydroelectricity in national and regional development; hydroelectricity and environmental changes; planning and construction of big hydroelectric

works; environmental conditions affecting work, and industrial safety and sanitation at big hydroelectric works; hydroelectric works and their financing; legal aspects of binational hydroelectric works; and labor, tax, jurisdictional, contract and other aspects.

It should be pointed out finally that fees of \$150 for each individual member and \$1,000 for each enterprise, entitled to send one representative, have been set for participation in this Inter-American Seminar on Hydroelectricity to be held in the area of Salto Grande.

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## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### URUGUAYAN-ARGENTINE RAILWAY LINK TO BE COMPLETED IN 1980

Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 17 Aug 79 p 5

[Article: "Railroad Connection with Argentina in 6 Months"]

[Text] Railroad connection between Argentina and Uruguay via the bridge built over the hydroelectric dam of Salto Grande will be nearing completion in about 6 months, spokesmen of the AFE [State Railways Administration] reported yesterday.

According to the sources, the delay in the establishment of the new international railroad service was caused by some problems in the bridge and on the Argentine bank of the Uruguay River. As is well known, the establishment of the service had been predicted by the AFE for next September, or no later than October. At the time, the president of the railroad entity had asserted that "the AFE has everything ready."

In that respect and as EL DIA previously announced, the AFE has already prepared 40 rail cars for the time when the railroad connection, which also includes the railroads of Paraguay, is completed.

#### Tourism and Commerce

As is commonly known, the binational hydroelectric complex of Salto Grande was officially inaugurated on 21 June by the Presidents of Argentina and Uruguay in a ceremony in which the governments of both nations had full participation.

Thus, the way was paved for the establishment of the railroad connection among Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay which will make it possible to have a substantial increase in the tourist possibilities of the three countries.

Moreover, the connection will be of utmost importance for Paraguay inasmuch as this country will be able to transport goods by water through the Uruguayan ports of Fray Bentos and Montevideo, which it can use as if they were its own.

## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### BRAZIL TO BECOME MAIN PURCHASER OF URUGUAYAN RICE

Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 10

[Article: "It is Asserted Brazil Will Be Main Buyer of Rice"]

[Text] Velazquez--Mr Ricardo Ferres, an official of the SAMAN [expansion unknown], agreed to talk to EL DIA about the production of rice in Rocha Department, and the possibilities for marketing the grain abroad and gaining new markets for it.

"Rocha is," he started by saying, "one of the departments where most rice is produced. We have a large area of rice in the department, although not as large as the COOPAE [expansion unknown] has. Some 250,000 tons of unhusked rice were produced in the country this year. We estimate the export of processed rice at between 120,000 and 130,000 tons, and that, moreover, has increased because of the rice that is being processed at the new ARROSUR mill, therefore the export figure should be about \$50 million this year.

"As to the outlook for the international price this year, it is not what we would wish. Costs in Uruguay are rising much faster than the adjustment in the rate of exchange, and for that reason producers are going to have a much narrower profit margin in the future."

When we asked him about the principal buyers, he said that "this year the main purchaser is going to be Brazil, which has had a crop shortfall because of droughts in some areas and excess of water in others."

About the difficulties with markets, he stated: "There have been no problems about the possibility of selling for the time being, but we have not been able to do so at the prices we wanted."

When we questioned him about the problem of fuels, he said: "This is a serious uncertainty affecting us, therefore the way to counteract it is to set up an infrastructure that does not waste fuel.

Consider this type of dam that irrigates by gravity: we already have 5,000 hectares in which the system is used in SAMAN, and another 3,000 hectares are going to be obtained here. This will prevent costs from continuing to climb."

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

VENEZUELAN LOAN TO HONDURAS--Tegucigalpa, 30 Aug (LATIN)--It was officially announced here today that Venezuela is going to grant Honduras a \$55 million loan for the construction of a hydroelectric project, which will reduce Honduras' dependence on imported oil. [Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 1926 GMT 30 Aug 79 PA]

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## CHILE

### 'ERCILLA' ON RELATIONS WITH PERU, BOLIVIA, ARGENTINA

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 22 Aug 79 pp 8-14

[Article by Blanca Arthur: "The Obsession of Our Neighbors"]

[Text] Chile harassed? On the centennial of the Pacific War, Peru and Bolivia have hoisted the anti-Chilean flag in a psychological war encouraged by their leaders and manifested every day in the press and on the streets.

Moved in part by their internal problems and profiting by conventional rationalization, these two countries have found the element of cohesion they need in their hostility toward us. At the same time, they join hands with Argentina--a nation which welcomes them as allies.

In Lima ERCILLA witnessed an exaggerated spirit of revenge which culminated in the military parade held recently. In La Paz we encountered the confusion of Bolivia's political conjuncture which has not eased up in its hysterical paroxysm aimed at obtaining an outlet to the sea.

And in Buenos Aires we saw manifestations of a new war, an antisubversive war--in which Chile is an ally--a panorama which appears more encouraging in relation to the conflict, although it is difficult to foretell the outcome after papal mediation.

#### Peru: Exaggerated Spirit of Revenge

Lima--"Another time they will not catch us unaware," a Lima resident proudly remarked while preparing to eat a bite in the midst of the crowd which had reached Avenida Brasil. But the deafening and constantly repeated slogans being transmitted by microphone drowned out the rest of his words.



"This is the categorical answer of our soldiers who will know how to defend our sovereignty and guarantee peace against those who would like to infringe upon our borders," a voice stated insistently over the loudspeakers.

Remote controlled rockets, rocket-launching tanks, howitzers, small tanks, trucks--all appearing almost new, and with Russian, French or American paint--together with the troops. Low overhead Canberra, Mirage and Sukhoi planes and a great many helicopters demonstrated their power, while good-looking girls with camouflaged uniforms made a graceful appearance.

On 29 July, Peru ended the celebration of its anniversary as a country with an impressive war display. But at the same time it commemorated the centennial of the Pacific War with a temperature toward Chile several degrees higher than normal.

For those who might not understand, President Morales Bermudez spoke the previous day. In part of his speech, which he devoted to an analysis of foreign policy, he pointedly forgot the existence of his neighbor to the south. He then stressed the close association of his people with Argentina, the special friendship and solidarity maintained with Bolivia and Peru's close ties with Colombia, Venezuela and even its controversial neighbor to the north: Ecuador.

The obvious intent of these statements was corroborated the following day when Lima's principal official daily newspaper, EL COMERCIO, placed this analysis in a preferential location. In the columns which followed, announcement was made of elections to be held within 10 months, as determined by the chief executive.

No special suspicion is needed to recognize in Lima how the words of former Foreign Minister Jose de la Puente were buried when, in November, he pointed out in Chile that the centennial of the war should be commemorated with "moderation and dignity."

It was certainly different at that time. De la Puente is now included in the black list of "Chilean fugitives" compiled by the anti-Chilean sectors. And the harmony achieved at that time has turned, with other personages, to the animosity which prevailed at the time of Velasco Alvarado. It should be recalled that this turn of events closed the borders with our country shortly after the fall of his colleague and friend, Salvador Allende.

For the average Peruvian, convinced by this campaign, the episode of espionage which occurred at the beginning of this year exemplifies the detonator of the situation he is now experiencing. This idea became firmly entrenched as a result of the facts surrounding the Talara incident: the death of the soldier accused of treason and the declaration of Ambassador Francisco Bulnes as persona non grata.

Although it does not deny that this episode was deplorable, ERCILLA was able to show how in various Peruvian sectors--and also in its public opinion--attitude of the leaders can be considered out of proportion. And one proof of this is the good image maintained by former Ambassador Bulnes. It is not rare in Lima to hear comments in the most distinguished circles echoing the same thought: those are the military's affairs.

The result is that we immediately have an interpretation without vacillation: Peru needed an element of popular cohesion, and the moment seemed ripe to hoist a nationalist flag which would wave with anti-Chilean winds. It was a way to divert attention from the country's domestic political and economic problems and the leaders easily seized upon it: teachers in the streets leading demonstrations was the latest indication.

Just as ERCILLA called attention to a high political leader in analyzing this subject relative to Chile, a well-orchestrated psychological campaign is now being conducted by the military sectors whose most obvious manifestation can be described in what someone termed "the paper war."

#### Beware of the Atomic Bomb

Under the slogan--which no one omits--"Year of the Centennial of the Pacific War," the Peruvian press does not miss a day calling attention to the many demonstrations held against Chile under the nationalist flag. There are few editions in which there is not some reference to this campaign, either in the form of an editorial or in that of a letter.

In looking back 100 years, opinions are picked up such as those of retired Gen Edgardo Mercado, expressed in one of the many conferences held on this subject: "Chile prepared for the war against Peru and Bolivia during a period of 40 years," says the officer whose text complements those he made with "perfidy and profit." And when eyes are turned toward the future, they encounter extremes such as that of the magazine ABC which asserts that our country has the atomic bomb and is ready to follow through with the deadly neutron bomb as the result of an all-out military effort made in the last 3 years.

Perhaps it is in the spirit of defense against this potential and horrible aggression that Peru is not hesitating to manifest its friendship with Chile's other two neighbors. It suffices to recall the news coverage given President Morales Bermudez' trip to Buenos Aires where there was not enough space to print all the news. However, nowhere do we encounter the amount of space given to the Chilean problem. In hewing close to the line, we can also point out the presence of Argentine Gen Guillermo Suarez Mason in Peruvian national celebrations--not particularly known for his peaceful attitude toward our country--who, seated on the rostrum, observed--or took stock of--Peruvian armaments.

The most sensitive fibers were also touched by Bolivia's laments over its landlocked position: offers are being made of free zones, ports and columns in the daily newspapers to altiplano delegates to get them to join the chorus against Chile. This is the case with the Bolivian intellectual. Cristobal Suarez who, in his first commentary in the daily newspaper, LA PRENSA, emphasizes "Bolivia's humiliating and unconditional subjection to the dictates of Pinochet."

### Thievery and Perfidy

Within this framework the declaration signed in June by 24 Peruvian and Chilean intellectuals was explosive and symptomatic. ERCILLA was able to verify the fact that the storm produced in Lima in the most varied circles had not abated even weeks later. The group of intellectuals, headed by writers Mario Vargas Llosa--Peruvian--and Jorge Edwards--Chilean--revealed its desire to work assiduously toward the end that the two countries in question and all American peoples "might live in peace and friendship and that war should never again break out among us." "This should be in opposition to underdevelopment," they said while recalling the "terrible moral and material damage underdevelopment has caused our peoples for the last 100 years."

For some sectors this last point was the crowning touch causing them to react. The committee of the centennial of the Pacific War, made up of historians, intellectuals and military personnel, manifested its rejection on behalf of the country. As historian Felix De Negri pointed out to ERCILLA, such a declaration "does not correspond to historic truth." The moral and material damage was not the same.

Nevertheless, for more sensitive sectors this wrong provided the only excuse for joining the Chileans in a cause which does not appear to them to be common. Reference is insistently made to wounds not yet healed, to the extreme cruelty with which Chile allegedly acted and also to its current conduct.

Given its peculiar aspect--to say the least--it behooves us to call attention to the commentary made by the priest, Salomon Bolo, owner of the paper EXPRESION and frequent speaker on this subject, when he bases his condemnation of the intellectuals on theological reflections. The thievery and pillage which, in his opinion, Chile allegedly committed in a war which he terms unjust will have no excuse if it does not pay back the one usurped: "It is a theological principle," he says, "that there is no pardon without restitution. That it should make that restitution since it cannot give back the lives it has taken." And he refers to the Bible pointing out that it teaches that "every thief will be effaced from the earth" (Zechariah, Chapter 5, Verse 3).

The recourse that other sectors take--the leftists--is their attack on Pinochet. The illustration used in the news media shows the Chilean president wearing dark glasses to give him a negative appearance.

A clearcut example of the stupidity prevailing in the news media is that of a report published by the weekly, KUNAN--supporter of the first phase of Velasco Alvarado--in qualifying Jorge Edwards with the pro-Pinochet insignia. It asserts that the Chilean writer "has erred in the title of his books. He should have called the one 'spouse' and the other 'declaration non grata.' He would have been closer to the truth," he states. He vehemently criticizes Peru's foreign policy of the past year headed by de la Puente and to which he adds Guillermo Arbulu, former ambassador to Chile, and Navy Minister Jorge Parodi: "the grimacing Parodi who experienced a mania of admiration for Chile's economic recovery."

#### What Are They Gaining?

Behind this sea of anti-Chilean madness there is much to delve into and investigate. An outstanding former Peruvian diplomat is right when he tells ERCILLA that the campaign is damaging not by its action but by its insistence.

In truth, it is difficult to imagine that--despite warlike messages--they will take a step in that direction, although they are dependent on Argentine daring. Nevertheless, the exaggeration of nationalism exacerbates the spirits and arouses a potentiality in opposition to Chile, which has existed since history has been taught in the schools.

"What do children hear? What they are told. The same as many people without education. However, I truly believe that there are many who do not agree with this spirit of revenge. Look what they said about Ambassador Bulnes when, a short time ago, he was no longer in a particular meeting: they said he was a very respectable person. Is it true? And what are they gaining?"

This comment from a secretary in Lima confirms that naturally there are many sectors in which the campaign has not taken hold. Of course--and as in the war of 1879--the highest sociocultural and political circles do not associate themselves with the confrontation and, therefore, have nothing to lose; on the contrary, they display amiability and affection even toward the Chileans. And, also, large numbers of average Lima residents now offer a clear explanation to the problem:

"Why am I going to go? To see how much money they have wasted in recent years?" a taxi driver commented to ERCILLA on the morning of the military parade. He said with contempt that it was a good way to justify the economic situation now prevailing in the country.

Meanwhile, a tradesman who profited by the occasion to set himself up with a basket of cookies and cigarettes in the midst of the crowd shrugged his shoulders upon seeing warplanes in close formation fly overhead.

"You who are Chilean, what do you say? I do not understand: they speak of brotherhood and proceed to use guns."

## New Phase Uncertain

Besides the impact it makes on the visitor--and even more if he is Chilean--this nationalist obsession, which looks upon our country with animosity, is undoubtedly aware that there is a broad sector of the Peruvian population which regards the evolution of this incredible intermittent process as observer. And perhaps they do not subscribe to the statements periodically made by Vargas Llosa in the magazine, CARETAS, and other like manifestations which provide a different note in this nationalist chorus.

"The cult of great men is being tested, trying to serve the country with a courage and idealism like that which they displayed during their era," Vargas Llosa replied to those who, out of respect for the memory of the heroes, condemned the joint declaration calling for peace.

In any case, this is the flag under which the Peruvian military is achieving its purpose: clearcut animosity toward Chile promoted in order to unify a discontented people. Attention is now being directed to the political future which is approaching, and new "schemings" about the domestic situation are getting underway. The possibility of Fernando Belaunde's return to power. The fate of APRA [American Revolutionary Popular Alliance] without Haya de la Torre and with a leader like Armando Villanueva who, incidentally, has the stigma of being married to a Chilean--inasmuch as the leftists proposed that one of the prerequisites of a married candidate was to have a Peruvian wife--and others like Andres Townsend who would represent a particular sector within APRA.

Although nothing is definite about the future of the domestic policy, it is still less definite about the foreign policy. Even though they are presenting a united front in reference to the 200-mile limitation, no improvement in relations toward our country is discernible for the moment. It can only be hoped, then, that whoever takes over the presidency will not want to resort to hatred toward Chile as a means of gaining his people's sympathy. At any rate, as ERCILLA was advised by APRA member Andres Townsend, it must be considered that the new constitution--drawn up by all political sectors--ratified an article calling for Latin American integration, including dual nationality. Terrible Chile included?

## Bolivia: Storm Over Landlocked Position

La Paz--It was somewhat discolored and faded. But the poster still clearly showed what was on it and its intention. Next to the photograph of the former president and candidate, Hugo Banzer, embraced by Pinochet, one could read: 'Charana's pet. Can it be that Banzer is coming back, heaven forbid?'



These were the nerve-racking days which preceded the unexpected election to Congress of a provisional president who was not among the regular candidates: former Foreign Minister Walter Guevara Arze. It is certain that the violence experienced during those hours partially contributed to maritime verbosity. But in no case--when they were not talking politics--did they abandon their nostalgic look toward the sea and their hatred toward Chile, which scored a milestone during the campaign.

None of the candidates omitted references to the policy concerning the country's landlocked position from his program. And although the references remained in the files of the history of another election, the new president, upon taking office, emphasized that the sea would receive priority consideration by his government which--it must not be forgotten--was installed to head up a new democratic process, and this in only a matter of months.

After the outcome of the 1979 chapter of Bolivian political history, we have the interpretation of its results. And Banzer's remote third place cannot be understood outside the maritime and Chilean context.

"In case you do not know, he took the children and showed them the sea while, afterwards, having nothing. It is like giving them a ball and then taking it away from them."

This is one of the impressions ERCILLA received in La Paz regarding the result of the anti-Banzer campaign.

With the burden of the failure of the negotiations Banzer initiated in 1975, Bolivia is commemorating the "year of the captive coast"--as stated by the slogans in all the news media. The break in diplomatic relations, which occurred from one day to the next a year and a half ago, was symptomatic in denoting the obsessive maritime and anti-Chilean atmosphere which now prevails, particularly in La Paz. And when they were once more faced with a difficult political situation--aware of the people's skepticism--nothing appeared more timely than to focus attention on the recovery of Antofagasta, as another poster points out with black letters over the green and yellow of the Bolivian flag.

#### Usurper and Enemy

The tide gradually rose until it reached the landlocked storm. First, it was the hope of obtaining a shoreline. Then it was the obligation to recover what was lost in a war of pillage; and now it even includes asking Chile to pay an indemnity of \$100 billion. This is the estimate of what our country allegedly obtained from the territories we took over 100 years ago.

A Chilean in La Paz cannot see himself affected by the high altitude only; he is also looked upon as a usurper.



Signs still appear: "Friend or brother, never. Usurper and enemy, always. Centennial of Chilean usurpation of the Bolivian coast." This message appears even in a simple writing pad sold in a store. And in one such pad a young student transcribed for ERCILLA the song which must be sung weekly in the schools:

"Let us sing the song of the sea, of the sea, of the sea which will soon bring us to happiness and well-being. Let us raise our voices for our coast, which Bolivia will soon have this time, the sea, the sea."

It is a constant which is repeated. A sentimental paroxysm which reached its tensest point in February with the commemoration of the taking of Antofagasta: marches, concentrations of children who attended wearing sailors' collars, posters with insults against Chile and the taking of an oath by all the people that they would never renounce the sea.

One needs only to read the news media--which goes along with the maritime trend--to have a clear idea how far this obsession can be carried. For example, we have the article which appeared in the newspaper, LA PRENSA, dated 21 May and entitled: "Was Prat a hero?" The sketch accompanying the article shows the Chilean sailor shoved by another to the sea. And part of the commentary asserts that, if Prat had not fallen on the deck of the "Huascar," the Chileans would have had to accuse him in a court-martial.

If one wants to delve into the degree of this hysteria, one has only to enter a bookstore in La Paz. Large showcases are devoted to this literature, some of the most sophisticated on the subject. Few historians, intellectuals or politicians have failed to spend time giving their view on the war or on negotiations with Chile. For example, current President Guevara makes a radiograph on this aspect in which he bitterly attacks former President Banzer--now being tried for suspected espionage on behalf of our country--and he even titles one of the chapters of his book "Charana's Surrender," not exactly a display of objectivity.

Due to the effort this folly is having in Bolivia, it is not easy to determine to what extent the sea has succeeded in penetrating the altiplano people. It is certain that hostility toward Chile, which almost reeks, does not apply in personal relations with the inhabitants of La Paz. In general, those people are friendly.

However, anything can happen. For example, one morning a "cholo"--as the Indians refer to themselves--was showing all his charms, when he surprisingly remarked: "You're a Chilean woman? Go away, go away, for you stole the sea from us."

More analytical in regard to the situation, a taxi driver commented: "With Chile, nothing. They are holding on to our sea, and now they are living off our oil, sugar and olive oil. That cannot be. And, you know, it is well that you spread this abroad. We shall accept nothing."

In short, after traversing the streets of La Paz, chatting with its people and observing the situation, we can confirm that this point is an important factor in unification. Different from what is happening in Peru, it has succeeded in binding all sectors together. The differences are only those of shading, differences of emotion and sentimentality more or less.

### Friends in the World

However, the Bolivian lament is not directed inward only. The problem has become international. There is no meeting or conference in which some altiplano representative fails to take the opportunity to mention the country's "disgraceful landlocked position." We have only to recall the ECLA [Economic Commission for Latin America] conference in La Paz at the beginning of the year when the then Foreign Minister Raul Botelho—who is also the author of the other book on this subject—devoted four pages of his speech to the landlocked situation, which earned him the categorical response of the Chilean representative: "Bolivia is twisting the facts." Also in the OAS in February, the Bolivian ambassador requested a special meeting to speak of the sea, statements which were refuted and rejected by Chilean Ambassador Pedro Daza. And the latter added at that time: "Neither the OAS nor any other international organization was given the jurisdiction to decide on our sovereign territorial right." But the unruliness characteristic of the Bolivians reaches everywhere: President Guevara said that, at the OAS conference to be held in November in La Paz, Bolivia would state its position with regard to the sea. And that is not all:

"Our landlocked position, which needs to be corrected, has restricted our development," was the statement made in a report sent by the minister of health to the WHO in May.

To be sure--and in this the phenomenon is similar to that in Peru--its international aspirations are giving cause for special attention in Chile's other neighbors: Argentina and Peru. Not much is said about rewarding the solidarity which the latter display and manifest every time they can. There are examples which illustrate this point. There was the case of a tranquil importer of apples who had prepared all the papers for importing 5,000 crates of Chilean apples into Bolivia. But he received the answer: "There would be no problem if the apples were from Argentina."

### A Mistaken Comedy?

Thus, with this sea fever, the centennial of the captive coast is passing. We are still in 1979, and the Bolivians are already looking toward the future. The last legacy of the outgoing government--aside from handing over the power as if it were in search of international sympathies--was the creation of an ad hoc organization, the Sea Directorate, subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Inaugurated at a time when Congress was discussing its

political future, it was another indication that the problem, transcending governments, would be a constant one, a projection which became clear in the inaugural speech of the then Foreign Minister Jorge Escobarí. President Guevara has now said that he will be the one to handle the problem of Bolivia's landlocked position.

In his work, "Radiografía de las negociaciones con Chile" [Radiograph on Negotiations With Chile], he outlines the formulas he considers necessary for a solution. He proposes the internationalization of Arica, a port which could come under the administration of the United Nations. Also a corridor which would follow a line from Concordia branching off toward Arica; Chile would yield not only the sovereignty of that port but also the sovereignty of the corridor to Bolivia and a portion of the coast to Peru. All in exchange for nothing; it is insisted that no territorial exchange will be accepted.

The development that these postulates might have had is not yet known. However, the altiplano president stressed recently--in one of his insistent references to this subject--that the problem of Bolivia's landlocked position was tripartite: there could be no solution without Peru's participation in possible negotiations. Perhaps they forget that the last negotiations--undertaken in 1975 and harshly criticized by Guevara--did not fail through Chile's fault.

The unfortunate outcome with respect to Bolivia came about, paradoxically, when our country made Peru a participant, the ally which Bolivia does not want to let go.

#### Argentina: Shades of Another War

Buenos Aires--One must see to believe. This is the reaction which occurs spontaneously when, across the same television screen on which only a few months ago the programs were interrupted with a stupid campaign of defense of the sovereignty, a news flash now appears: "We have won the peace." And for a Chilean the astonishment is still greater upon seeing--together with short films of terrorism in Peron's era--the image of former President Allende along with a voice which says: "Chile also experienced subversion, was threatened by Marxism and defeated it."

To be sure, that warlike atmosphere which was felt by Chileans in Buenos Aires a few months ago has abated. The psychological war which knit the country together around a feverish anti-Chileanism is now expressed in a very different front: the doctrinaire. One needs only to sound out the reality of Buenos Aires somewhat to perceive a clearcut anti-Marxist and antisubversive ideological campaign in which Chile, the "terrible" enemy, clearly appears as an important ally.

War is not the obligatory subject of cafes, streets or business. The Argentines continue to ask themselves: "You are Chilean? What are you doing here with this nonsense?" But their concern is not one of war: it is economic, since Argentina is now one of the most expensive countries in the world.

After discovering and verifying the enmity prevailing against Chile in Lima and La Paz, anything could be expected from the atmosphere in Buenos Aires. The papal mediation which is going on at the Vatican had come to a stop along the way despite continuous reiterations by various delegates of its intransigent two-ocean principle and trips back and forth to Rome by secretaries of the three branches of the armed forces.

All this resistance opens the way to uncertainty. And that is why the future of Chilean-Argentine relations is seen under various prisms: naturally, some observers are more optimistic. However, there are also those who do not see the picture clearing up. Nor are skeptics lacking.

### The Other War

To a considerable sector this new doctrinaire campaign in Argentina appears to be a determining factor in relation to the bilateral problem. They say that their sights have turned to other points of the continent. And one can easily see the concern over the implications of the Nicaraguan developments as well as the Latin American course. They no longer see Bolivia as a tranquil neighbor, and many doubts arise about the future Paraguayan situation.

In this context, a war with Chile would be more than unusual: the long-range U.S. objective is expanding throughout the area, and both countries have certainly undertaken a similar democratic step. And with regard to the border dispute, they also have adjoining territory on the northern Argentine borders.

Those who adhere to this ideological attack in order to view the future optimistically with regard to Chile argue that the attack is receiving more supporters in high governmental circles. And a tangible indication is provided by statements like those of Gen Benjamin Menendez--not exactly a pacifist--when he asserted 2 months ago:

"Despite the fact that the rout of subversion is completely controlled, we must continue to keep an eye on the various milieux in which subversive ideologists operate. We must be alert, inasmuch as they might again take up the job of recruiting and training routed combatants and mislead new youth for the purpose of gaining power. Communism is on that level; our country is an appetizing mouthful due to its territorial expanse and capability, its geographical conditions and, especially, its people."

However, the arguments of those who see a peaceful outcome do not stop here.

"Do you not see that with the church they cannot play around in Argentina?" a resident very sure of the outcome of papal intervention remarked to EPCILLA.

Then he added:

"Do you not remember what happened with Peron?"



It is true that the intervention of the church has given the pacifist sectors a lot of hope, since, in addition to the moral authority enjoyed by the pope, the church authorities in Argentina have taken the offensive in a country in which a concordat exists, and the church is joined to the state, a circumstance which cannot be viewed indifferently.

There are few sermons or occasions in which bishops or priests do not refer to this subject. Even the papal nuncio, Pio Laghi, plays an important role: "This is not an ordinary mediator; this is the pope, with all that this implies," was one of his latest comments.

Meanwhile, the bishops incessantly oppose any warlike statement coming from the usual anti-Chilean sectors. For example, there was the recent conversation between the bishop of the locality of Azul and Isaac Rojas, in which the latter stated that he considered this mediation dangerous, inasmuch as the Vatican was not demanding the restitution of the islands. The church authority was categorical in rejecting these terms: he called them "inopportune and improper."

Although it met with a large number of exceptions, the situation brought about recently in a summit meeting of the Argentine military sector--with a view to a peaceful outcome--is also considered encouraging. The Videla-Viola due obtained greater control of the power, according to what is deduced from the latest changes made in the army. At the beginning of the year, Gen Suarez Mason, who commanded that I Corps--covering Buenos Aires Province--was appointed chief of the army's general staff, through which he transferred his troop command to the office. Another example is that of General Camps; as head of intelligence, he directed the entire militaristic psychological campaign, and he is now in charge of the cavalry-remount and veterinary command.

The framework of the domestic situation has changed. Even when they speak of Viola's possible retirement next year, it is felt that he would do so in order to be free to occupy the Presidency of the nation.

#### Looking Toward the South

Everything indicates that the more moderate line will prevail. And with regard to Chile, a less aggressive navy is being encountered than in Massera's time: Lambruschini does not have the political ambitions the 25 May navigator displayed. And although this is still the most aggressive sector, it must be pointed out that they no longer have a monopoly at the San Martin Palace as a year ago. Foreign affairs are now in the hands of the air force and, in real terms, in those of Videla, with whom Pastor is perhaps a "worthy interlocutor."

An entirely new panorama in Argentina. A break? There is surely no lack of rumors which hasten to reply:

It is not easy to find answers to these questions. For some it is only a way of having their voice heard in international organizations at a time when other fronts are stepping up their attacks: the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights has announced that it will visit Argentina.

With this not at all clear panorama, mediation will continue in the Vatican. More encouraging? It is true that threats of "operational acts of appearance" are not expected, at least in Buenos Aires where there is an atmosphere of hope.

Nevertheless, the look they have given their Chilean neighbors to the north is not at all peaceful when, during the centennial of the Pacific War, they give signs of a suggestive friendship. However, this fact as well as the possible mobilization which might remain in the south and the repeated statements made on remaining intransigent on the bioceanic principle are interpreted in broad sectors as "sharp pressure" on the Vatican: we were on the brink of war and we heeded the warning. Is it a battle of cunning with the pope?

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## BRIEFS

**POPE'S VISIT**--Monsignor Octavio Derisi, rector of the Argentine Catholic University, stated Sunday that "the pope hinted that he will come to Argentina and Chile once the southern border dispute is settled." He is now the mediator. Derisi, who returned last night from Europe, indicated that he had already invited John Paul II before his visit, but obviously did not press him, since the pope is in charge of mediating the dispute with Chile. The governments of Argentina and Chile were on the brink of war last December because of the border dispute over islands and waters at the extreme southern tip of the American continent. The intervention by John Paul II's special envoy, Cardinal Antonio Samore, who made several trips to the capitals of the disputing nations to talk with authorities, facilitated a detente and the signing of the "Montevideo Act" in which Argentina and Chile requested papal mediation. Derisi explained that the pope could not come to Buenos Aires at this time, since his presence could be interpreted as a bias toward Argentina. [Text] [Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 6 Aug 79 p 14] 8587

**U.S. COPPER PROSPECTING**--The head of ore prospecting of Utah International Incorporated, Siegfried Muessing, told the Ministry of Mines yesterday morning that his company will form a partnership in the United States with "Getty Oil Company" to prospect between Tocopilla and Copiapo for copper deposits and by-products. The American businessman, accompanied by the company representative in Chile, Pablo Gondone, said there were three reasons for the company's prospecting in our country. First, he said they consider the present economic and political situation in Chile favorable. He then said that Chile is a copper power, with a high possibility of discovering deposits. Finally, he indicated that he was also attracted by the memory of good experiences in Chile in the past. Muessing said that he lived in our country in 1955, that this was the second time he had traveled here and that he was finding great positive changes in its development. [Text] [Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 11 Aug 79 p 8] 8587

**PINOCHET PRC VISIT DENIED**--Beijing, 11 Aug (AFP)--The Chilean ambassador to Beijing, Sergio Huidobro, today denied in Beijing that Chilean President Gen Augusto Pinochet would at some time make an official visit to China.

The ambassador told AFP by telephone that "such a visit is absolutely not being planned; the only visit planned is by Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Huang Hua to Chile, and the date is still undecided." The Chilean newspaper EL SUR reported on 10 August that Pinochet would travel to China soon, citing a telephone conversation with the Chilean ambassador in Beijing. Huidobro protested that "falsification" of his thoughts and added that he had written the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Relations about the matter. The possibility of an official visit by Pinochet to China and Chinese Premier President Hua Buofeng to Chile had been raised in October 1978 during Chilean Foreign Minister Hernan Cubillos' official stay in China, but no official confirmation was given until now, according to observers. [Text] [Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 12 Aug 79 p 4] 8587

CSO: 3010

# PRESIDENT CARTER'S RELEASE OF PUERTO RICANS ANALYZED

Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 10 Sep 79 PA

["Our America" commentary]

[Text] The permanent solidarity maintained by world public opinion and democratic and progressive organizations plus the socialist countries' demand forced U.S. President James Carter to comply with the principle of human rights in the case of the political prisoners who had served more time than any others of this continent. Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores spent more than 25 years in U.S. prisons for struggling for the independence of Puerto Rico, their fatherland, colonized by U.S. imperialism in 1898.

During their years in prison, the four patriots had their most elemental human rights violated. They suffered from isolation, political pressure, intimidation and lack of medical attention. Now, when everyone is rejoicing over this victory, we kindly remember Andres Figueroa Cordero, imprisoned for more than 23 years in the United States and who was released only to prevent him from dying in prison. Figueroa Cordero died last March in Puerto Rico from cancer which was not properly treated in prison.

In recent years the world demanded freedom for Lolita Lebron and her companions. In Puerto Rico, the demand was virtually unanimous. The World Peace Council, the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and world personalities and organizations took up the cry.

Not long ago, U.S. Government officials offered the four patriots their freedom if they expressed regret and betrayed Puerto Rico's independence cause. Far from accepting such demands, the four nationalists firmly maintained their position in a worthy example of patriotism, dignity and anti-imperialist spirit. If we accepted freedom under those conditions, Oscar Collazo said, later on imperialism would try to impose a conditional freedom on our people.

According to GRANMA, the release from prison of Lolita Lebron and her companions is no evidence of the alleged humanitarian spirit of which their

their jailers brag. Instead, it proves that the prisoners' morale and international solidarity, which always remained on their side, were stronger than the weight of injustice and the pressure of the jail bars.

Regarding the unconditional freedom that Washington was forced to grant the four Puerto Rican patriots, GRANMA says that the people know very well that they should have never been imprisoned and that the ones who deserved such punishment were those who invaded and colonized Puerto Rico and who still maintain their hated domination over Puerto Rico.

The representatives of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico who attended the Sixth Nonaligned Summit Conference as observers, as well as newsmen and diplomats who came to the Havana Conference, termed the U.S. decision to grant Lolita Lebron, Cancel Miranda, Flores and Collazo a pardon with conditions, as an act of opportunism. They said that Washington was trying to stop the nonaligned movement from expressing its solidarity in favor of Puerto Rican independence.

Every honest man on earth is glad about this new victory of international solidarity, a solidarity that must be maintained at all costs to snatch from the claws of fascism the thousands of patriots and democrats who at this very moment are being tortured in dungeons in Uruguay, Haiti, Chile, Argentina, El Salvador and other countries in our America.

CSO: 3010

## REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION COMMEMORATES ETHIOPIAN ANNIVERSARY

Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1045 GMT 20 Sep 79 FL

[Text] The ceremony at which the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] paid homage to the Ethiopian revolution on its fifth anniversary was held yesterday at the FAR main club house. Presiding over the ceremony were Div Gen Rigoberto Garcia Fernandez, chief of the Youth Labor Army, and Brig Gen Sixto Batista Santana, chief of the FAR Central Political Directorate, both members of the PCC Central Committee and vice ministers of the FAR, and Wondimagegnehu Alemro, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Ethiopia to Cuba. Others presiding included FAR generals, chiefs and officers.

Brig Gen Leopoldo Cintras Frias, member of the PCC Central Committee, pointed out the heroism of the Ethiopian people who throughout their history have been able to defend their territorial integrity, and the way they have struggled for their liberty and independence. He stated further that once the people's victory over Haile Selassie's feudal regime had been achieved the Ethiopian masses and revolutionary government were forced to make great efforts through armed defense in face of the Eritrean secessionist movement, the domestic counterrevolutionary actions and the Somali invasion of the Ogaden region, which was backed by imperialism and reactionary forces. He stated that our internationalist combatants--who identified in an absolute way with the Ethiopian revolution, adopting it as their own cause--did not hesitate to voluntarily go to the Ogaden to struggle with weapons in their hands alongside the comrades of the Ethiopian armed forces and the people's militia.

Brig Gen Leopoldo Cintras Frias pointed out that it was an honor for us to have helped with our modest aid the historic victory achieved by the combatants and people of socialist Ethiopia. He further stated: [begin recording] Comrade Ethiopians, in reiterating our warmest congratulations and our strongest wishes for success on this new anniversary of the triumph of the Ethiopian revolution, allow me to recall the feelings expressed by army Gen Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the FAR, at the ceremony held on 1 September at the Gen Maximo Gomez Academy--we will always be proud of having fought at your side and learning from you. You can be sure that

in the Ethiopian battle we acquired not only new and valuable experiences in carrying out modern military arts and sciences but also our revolutionary awareness became more profound and our patriotic convictions became firmer. Since then we have become more internationalistic and better communists. [end recording]

For his part, Wondimagegnehu Aemero gave a historical recounting of the struggle of his people against the exploitation to which they were subjected by imperialism and the feudal regime. He pointed out how the Ethiopian people were able to win their liberty and independence through a revolutionary movement. He emphasized the achievements made by the Ethiopian revolution in the 5 years of victorious struggle against the ills left by the feudal regime, and he pointed out the heroism of the Ethiopian people in their struggle against the Eritrean separatists, the counterrevolution and the reactionary invasion from Somalia which was supported by imperialism.

The Ethiopian ambassador noted the aid provided to Ethiopia by Cuba, the USSR and other fraternal countries of the socialist community. He stated: [begin recording] Cuba and Ethiopia will work together for many years to come. They will unitedly march forward until they achieve their common objective. Cuba and Ethiopia have leaders who are equally dedicated and unselfish. Both countries have written stories of heroism with the blood of their sons who have struggled against colonialism, imperialism and fascism. [end recording]

CSO: 3010



## MINFAR AWARDS BADGES TO FAR VANGUARD OFFICERS

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 20 Aug 79 p 2

[Text] The outstanding place held by the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] in the hearts of the Cuban people was emphasized once again during the meeting held by the vanguard commanders, officers, and NCOs of the FAR during the Year of Training, 1978-1979, and the National Directorate of the Federation of Cuban Women.

During the homage rendered by federation members, a ceremony held in the Central House of the FAR, Rosa Elvira Navarro, member of the organization's national committee, said that Cuban women consider the progress achieved by the glorious FAR a source of legitimate pride and told the vanguard members, in the name of all women who are members of the federation, of their gratitude for the example they have set.

The speaker, who is also the head of the social work department of the FMC [Cuban Women's Federation] pointed out that the week in honor of the FAR vanguard members coincides with the development of the "23 August" plan of the federation members which is being carried out in honor of the 19th anniversary of the organization. She furthermore repeated the readiness of Cuban women to carry the message of solidarity and strength of our revolution to other peoples throughout the world.

Technical First Lieutenant Nancy Perez Rios, thrice a vanguard member of the FAR, presented the brotherly greetings of the fighting men to the FMC and their pledge to make a maximum effort toward operational, combat, and political training. She also wished all of the federation members the very best success in holding their Third Congress.

The following were also present: Martha Depres, member, Council of State, and member, National Secretariat, FMC; lt cols Jose Garcia Trujillo and Gustavo Milian, from the Central Political Directorate of the FAR; other FAR commanders and officers; and members of the National Directorate of the women's organization.

## Visit to Bay of Pigs Air Guards Brigade

During the Year of Training, 1978-1979, the vanguard commanders, officers, and NCOs of the FAR visited the Bay of Pigs Air Guards Brigade.

At this unit they were received by Guards Col Ruben Martinez, of Brigade HQ, who stressed the significance of the presence of the vanguard members to the unit.

The visitors inspected the combat history room and the unit museum as well as other areas and were able to get a look at the training and skill level of our pilots during a simulated air combat exercise.

Capt Francisco Suris, who participated in the demonstration, read a communique in the name of the personnel of the Bay of Pigs [Playa Giron] Air Guards Brigade, telling the vanguard members of their intention to continue to work as they have been doing so far.

Engineer Lieutenant Madelin Ochoa, a vanguard commander for two consecutive years, spoke in the name of the award-winning commanders, officers, and NCOs; she expressed their appreciation for the way in which they were received and urged the members of the unit to continue to prepare for the defense of the fatherland and thus to be able with honor to uphold the distinction awarded to the Bay of Pigs Air Guards Brigade by the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, presented by our Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro.



Badges instituted by the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces for vanguard commanders, officers, and NCOs of the FAR. Key: 1--vanguard commander; 2--vanguard officer; 3--vanguard NCO.

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## INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT CONTROL CENTER MODERNIZED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 10 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by A. Shelton: "Cuban air traffic control center opened at 'Jose Marti' international air terminal"]

[Text] Modern facility improves domestic and international air traffic safety in our area; it is a part of a complex estimated at more than one million pesos; this facility is a part of the project being carried out in Cuba in connection with the Sixth Summit Conference.

The Cuban air traffic control center, equipped with advanced-technology instruments, was officially opened at the "Jose Marti" international air terminal at Rancho Boyeros as part of the program being carried out in Cuba in connection with the Sixth Summit Conference of Nonaligned countries.

This modern facility improves the domestic and international air traffic conditions in the vast control zone assigned to Cuba by the ICAO, of the United Nations, comprising a portion of the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, extending all the way to the Windward Passage.

The facility, whose radius of action extends beyond Cuban territory, is operated without interruptions for 24 hours per day and has the most modern and complex communications equipment (VHF equipment), by means of which contact can be established with aircraft in flight, with other airports, with adjacent air traffic control centers in neighboring countries, and with intermediate substations, using the extensive domestic microwave network for this purpose.

By means of the center's control board, air traffic controllers can issue instructions to aircraft concerning the route and altitude they must maintain in flight, in agreement with weather conditions and air traffic movement in the area through which they are passing or in which they are operating.

On the other hand, the operators in the control room supply aircraft with overall information concerning the weather and the functional and technical

status of airport facilities. They also provide systematic and detailed documentation pertaining to all circumstances connected with the effort to guarantee maximum flight safety in the control area assigned to Cuba.

This center is part of a complex estimated at more than one million pesos and has 13 control boards, each of which can cover any specific flight area which in turn improves the efficiency and the detail involved in air traffic control.

The highly specialized operating personnel at the center is made up sixteen controllers, six supervisors, and an equal number of coordinators, as well as seventeen auxiliary controllers. All of them have a perfect command of English which is the official language of air communications and they received previous familiarization training with the new equipment.

The center handles the reception and transmission of information, using advanced stations located throughout national territory. In long-range terms, plans call for the connected operation of another similar section which will be located in the eastern part of the country.

It must be pointed out that we did in the past have a center with older equipment but, due to the efficiency of its controllers, they always managed to maintain high air navigation safety levels.

Transportation vice minister Argimiro Ojeda was present during the official opening of the center whose commissioning constitutes the start of a new phase in the life and development of civil aviation in our area.

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## BRIEFS

**HURRICANE FREDERIC DAMAGE**--The "western region of the country is gradually returning to normalcy" after 3 days of intensive rains caused by hurricane Frederic. In spite of preventive measures, 15 persons were killed, "some of them victims of carelessness." The waters flooded some areas of the Mariel and Tallapiedra and "partially affected Antillana de Acero and the glass factory complex in San Jose." There was extensive flooding at Jose Marti International Airport which forced "the suspension of all activities." More than "2 million metric tons of water formed an artificial reservoir on the center of the runway and it remains to a lesser degree" despite efforts to normalize the situation. Fallen trees caused interruptions in electric and telephone services; electric power is returning to normal "little by little." Meanwhile, more than 40,000 Havana workers this Saturday and Sunday will be "mobilized for farm and industrial work in the 19 municipalities of the territory [Havana Province] in response to the "call of the provincial party bureau to recover from the damage" caused by Frederick. In Havana, nearly 9,000 sugar industry workers will be mobilized today to do repair work in the "19 sugar mills of the territory to make up for the 3 days lost in this type of work" as a result of the storm. [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 15 Sep 79 FL]

**ENVOY TO KUWAIT**--The Cuban Council of State has designated Comrade Juan Carretero Ibanez as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the state of Kuwait with residence in the Republic of Iraq where he holds the same position. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 8 Sep 79 FL]

**SOVIET TROOP PRESENCE**--In a television speech the President of the United States repeated statements already made by his secretary of state on the alleged presence in Cuba of Soviet combat troops. Carter's speech on this issue took place at a time when Washington political circles believe there is a close relationship between the alleged presence of Soviet troops in Cuba and the debate in the U.S. Senate on the SALT II treaty. [Text] [Havana International Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 8 Sep 79 PA]

CONDOLENCES TO ANGOLA--Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, in a note of condolence to the leadership of the MPLA-Labor Party and Angolan Government on the occasion of the death of Agostinho Neto, states: Profoundly moved by the news on the death of beloved President Agostinho Neto, a close comrade in the struggle for ending colonial and racial oppression in Africa and the world and against all forms of imperialist exploitation, we share with the leadership of the MPLA-Labor Party, government and people of Angola the grief for his death. The document notes the tireless struggle of the African leader over a period of nearly 40 years and his contribution to other African liberation movements. It stresses that his death is a painful loss for the world revolutionary movement and for the nonaligned movement, of which he was a highly esteemed figure. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1045 GMT 12 Sep 79 FL]

PUERTO RICAN SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN--A campaign of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Puerto Rican people will be conducted from this past Thursday until 23 September, according to an announcement at a news conference by (Felipe Cirino), member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and its representatives in Cuba. (Cirino) stressed that the objective of the campaign is to intensify the ties of mutual solidarity that bind and have bound historically our two Antillean Islands. He pointed out that the campaign will end on 23 September when the 11th anniversary of the Grito de Lares [abortive revolt for independence] will be commemorated. [Excerpt] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1045 GMT 14 Sep 79 FL]

U.S. EMBARGO BLOCKADE- Today it was learned in New York that President James Carter has asked the U.S. Congress to maintain the economic blockades imposed on Cuba, People's Kampuchea, Vietnam and the DPRK. According to the respective embargo laws imposed by the U.S. Congress on each country, it is tradition for the President to periodically notify the legislators on his decision to continue the measure before the decree in question expires. [Text] [Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 14 Sep 79 FL]

CONGO CONGRATULATIONS TO CASTRO--Col Denis Sassou-n'Guesso, president of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee and of the People's Republic of the Congo, has sent a message to Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers. In the message, he conveys the gratitude of the Congolese delegation for the warm welcome accorded it by the Cuban people during its stay in our country. The message from Denis Sassou-n'Guesso to Fidel also congratulates Fidel for his election as chairman of the Nonaligned Countries Movement and wishes him success in his new mission. The message stresses the excellent organization of the nonaligned countries sixth summit and the total success of the conference which has helped to strengthen the nonaligned movement despite the maneuvers of our enemies. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1404 GMT 15 Sep 79 FL]



**NONALINED SUMMIT**--A congratulatory message from the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU] signed by its Secretary General Enrique Pastorino has been sent to Commander in Chief Fidel Castro on the occasion of his election as chairman of the Nonaligned Countries Movement. The message notes that the WFTU, on behalf of 190 million workers throughout the world, expresses its deepest congratulations to the president of the Council of State of Cuba. At the same time, the WFTU hails the successes achieved by the historic sixth summit held in Havana. The Nonaligned Countries Movement, stresses the WFTU, with its firm anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, antifascist and antiracist policy, has emerged stronger and more united in spite of the efforts and intrigues of imperialism and its allies. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1409 GMT 15 Sept 79 FL]

**LIBYAN REVOLUTION COMMEMORATED**--'Ali Sunni al-Muntasir, the ambassador of the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah to Cuba, stressed the friendship and cooperation between the Cuban and Libyan peoples in an event here in Havana on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. He also stressed the aid of Cuban doctors in solidarity with his country and referred to the Libyan people's efforts to develop. To this effect, he said, we have established the goal of converting desert areas into fertile land for agriculture. [Text] [Havana International Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 15 Sep 79 PA]

**GENEVA STANDARDIZATION MEETING**--A Cuban delegation led by Eng Ramon Darias Rodes, minister-president of the State Committee for Standardization, has left for Geneva, Switzerland, to participate in the 11th General Assembly of the International Standardization Organization that will be held there from 17 to 21 September, 1979. [Excerpt] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 15 Sep 79 FL]

**NEWS MEDIA MONOPOLIZATION**--Information is indispensable for development but it is far from being a universal good in service to mankind as long as it is monopolized by a few transnational enterprises. This concept was stated by Cuban National Assembly deputy Luis Mendez Morejon at the Tuesday 18 September morning session of the 66th World Interparliamentary Conference which is meeting in Caracas, Venezuela with the participation of 80 countries. Mendez Morejon recalled that the large transnational news agencies control 85 percent of the world information flow and therefore the planet is flooded with images and messages favoring the most developed countries of the capitalist world, offering an exaggerated view of the so-called third world in addition to mounting a campaign to discredit the socialist camp. He emphasized that information should be based on information autonomy, cultural identity, and development of one's own infrastructures based on equality of all peoples. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 19 Sep 79 FL]

**BULGARIAN ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION**--The main ceremony commemorating the 35th anniversary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria National Day was

held last night 17 September at the Revolutionary Armed Forces--FAR--Universal Hall. It was organized by the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples [ICAP] and the Cuban-Bulgarian Friendship Association. The ceremony was attended by Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, member of the PCC Politburo, Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the secretariat, other members of the Central Committee, leaders of the PCC, state, mass organizations and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Cuba. In his remarks Flavio Bravo Pardo pointed out the Cuban-Bulgarian relations as a model between two countries geographically distant but very close ideologically. Flavio Bravo then said that more than 5,000 Bulgarian technicians and specialists have given their best to aid our development, and hundreds of Cuban youth have been trained as technicians in Bulgaria. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 18 Sep 79 FL]

TEACHERS DEPART FOR NICARAGUA--The 60 primary education teachers from Havana Province who comprise the first contingent which will leave for the Republic of Nicaragua to teach were bid farewell at a ceremony held at the Havana Province Bejucal Municipality Culture House. The group includes 11 PCC members and 45 Union of Young Communist (UJC) members. Their average age is 24 years old. This contingent, which is comprised of teachers from the 19 Havana Province municipalities, is part of the 1,000 teachers Cuba will soon be sending to Sandino's homeland. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1400 GMT 20 Sep 79 FL]

BULGARIAN SPORTS COOPERATION--Cuba and Bulgaria have signed a sports cooperation and exchange agreement for 1980 in Sofia that includes bilateral competitions and participation in international competition in 12 sports to be held in the two countries. The document was signed by Fabio Ruiz, vice president of the Cuban National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation, and Nikolay Andonov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sports. The agreement also calls for an exchange of sports trainers, specialists and leaders between the Cuban and Bulgarian sports organizations. [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1807 GMT 20 Sep 79 FL]

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## EL SALVADOR

### POLITICAL SITUATION SEEN DETERIORATING DANGEROUSLY

#### Abyss Between Government, People

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 18 Aug 79 p 1-A, 10-A

[Article by Fernando Meraz, EXCELSIOR correspondent]

[Excerpt] -Troops the Only Government Support; Repression and Torture Its Language

-Urgent Report of Bishops and Priests to the Pope, the UN, the OAS, and 23 Countries

-ORDEN, Paramilitary Group With 60,000 members; 1,600 Victims of Terror

-Six Priests Assassinated and 14 Expelled in 2 Years; the Opposition, Clandestine

San Salvador, 17 August. "A deep abyss has opened up in this country between the government and the people, at the bottom of which is developing a climate of incendiary violence which could lead to a serious crisis. The only support of the government is in the armed forces and its language is absolute: repression and torture.

"This continuous use of repression and torture has caused deep resentment among the people and the government has lost its capacity for discussion and the moral authority to undertake on its own a serious attempt to find a solution for the structural conflict that the country is experiencing," concludes a draft of a general analysis of the situation in El Salvador, which was conducted by 5 bishops and 70 priests of the national Catholic Church in a series of sessions which began on 12 August.

The final report--Msgr Oscar Romero Gadalvez, archbishop of San Salvador, disclosed--will be sent to Pope John Paul II, the United Nations, the OAS, the UNESCO League of Human Rights and the governments of the United States, France, Sweden, Spain, Germany, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, Canada and 14 other countries with an "urgent" plea by the Salvadoran prelates "that

the whole world, on the basis of the principle of basic solidarity and human brotherhood should become aware of what is happening here and seek the means of preventing a blood bath and the death of thousands of innocent people."

The bishops and priests, meeting in the theological seminary San Jose de la Montana in San Salvador warned: "Since the Church has as its mission to be a factor for unification and peace among men, and since this unity and peace cannot be based on anything but truth and justice, we find ourselves obliged to make an appeal to the conscience of the world so that, while respecting El Salvador's independence and self-determination, a road may be sought to prevent this people's suffering."

The Church's report will also include the report of the OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights which was presented 22 January 1979 supplemented by a list which includes a total of 1,600 victims of repression, and a detailed account of disappearances, tortures and campaigns of terror imposed by the government presided over by Col Carlos Humberto Romero.

The text, 156 pages long, establishes "a close relationship between El Salvador's political crisis and the tremendous concentration of land ownership, and the political and economic power in a few hands and the consequent desperation and anguish of the great majority, primarily peasants and workers, which in turn has created an atmosphere of tension and polarization."

#### Structural Crisis Worsening

The report of the Inter-American Commission which visited El Salvador in January gathered evidence that the "El Salvador structural crisis has gradually worsened during the last 2 years since Colonel Romero came into power."

The commissioners from the OAS: Carlos Dunclee de Abranches from Brazil, Tom J. Farer from the United States, and Fernando Bolio from Costa Rica describe in their report "the conditions in the prisons and detention centers with thousands of persons deprived of their freedom, many without due process of law and all of them under extremely cruel and inhuman conditions."

The Commission recommended to the OAS that it intervene with the Salvadoran government to recommend the dismantling of the Nationalist Democratic Organization (ORDEN), a paramilitary group made up of 60,000 members, subsidized by the government and of ultra-rightist tendencies "which was singled out by all groups, political parties and institutions as the principal instrument used to terrorize the people, kidnap, assassinate anyone who publicly expresses dissent and suppress outcroppings of rebellion."

In the face of this atrocious official repression, all popular dissent has resorted to clandestinity, grouped in six organizations of Marxist tendencies: the People's Revolutionary Block [BRP], the People's National

Liberation Front, [FPLN], the National Resistance Armed Forces [FARN], the Unified People's Action Front [FAPU], the People's Revolutionary Army [ERP] and the Salvadoran Christian Peasants Federation [FECCAS], but the Catholic Church has become the only overt spokesman for the people.

For this reason, since the beginning of Col Romero's term 2 years ago, six catholic priests have been assassinated. The most recent was Father Alirio Napoleon Macias, 38 years of age, who was machine gunned in front of the altar of the Church of San Estaban in the town of Catarina last 4 August by members of the ultra rightist organization "La Mano Blanca" [The White Hand], a branch of ORDEN which is primarily made up of army officers.

In addition, 14 other clergymen have been expelled from the country, 9 have been arrested, 6 were tortured, 42 were threatened with death unless they left the country; in addition, 6 nuns were expelled and 9 others were threatened with death.

In the first half of this year alone, there were 406 political assassinations of which 107 were peasants, 61 workers, 44 students, 69 of unknown occupation, 79 whose names were unknown, 6 professionals, 12 guerrillas, 26 teachers and 4 priests.

#### 154 Persons Disappeared Between January and June

Between January and June of 1979 154 persons disappeared--the report defines "disappeared" as those who have been arrested by one of the security organizations, have neither been assigned to a court nor freed, nor has their arrest been authorized--whose whereabouts are not known. In every case the motive has been political.

During the same period 307 persons were arrested, also for political reasons. Of these 129 were peasants, 85 of unknown, 49 workers, 26 students, 14 teachers, 2 priests and 2 professionals.

The people have angrily responded in kind to terror and violence. During the same period the clandestine groups killed 85 persons, 4 of whom were members of the armed forces, 7 national guardsmen, 28 police, 3 finance police, 1 municipal policeman, 5 night watchmen, 17 members of ORDEN, 5 members of the National Conciliation Party [PCN], the official party, 7 government employees, 1 cabinet member: the minister of education, one diplomat: Hugo Wey, ambassador from Switzerland, 3 professionals, 2 chiefs of personnel and one industrialist.

EXCELSIOR has in its possession a detailed copy of the report, which includes a list of the names of the victims in each category which is too lengthy to print here. Also turned over to this correspondent was an account which contains the testimony of 98 persons who were tortured, all of them horrible stories of limitless mistreatment and cruelty. Enough to mention a few chosen at random as examples:



Francisco Baltazar Campos Mendoza, who escaped being killed by dynamite on 28 November 1978, and who was able to obtain asylum at the Mexican embassy, stated before the Human Rights Committee in the presence of a notary public that he had been arrested by the national police in the city of Union at 0900 hours.

He was taken to the headquarters of San Miguel where he was tortured to make him confess his participation in the People's Liberation Front [FLP]. A plastic bag was placed over his head which was closed with a cord at the level of his neck. Then they struck him in the abdomen in such a manner that when he breathed the bag stuck to his nose and mouth.

#### Regime Promises to Return Power

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 18 Aug 79 p 10 A

[Text] -CRI [International Red Cross] Invited to Verify That There Are No Political Prisoners

-Reports That the United States Rejected a Humberto Romero Visit

-The CIA and the Pentagon Advocate Military Assistance for the Government

San Salvador, 17 August (AFP, AP, LATIN-REUTER). The military government of El Salvador has promised to return power to civilians by 1982 and invited the International Red Cross to verify that there are no political prisoners in El Salvador. It has called upon political exiles to return to the country and requested the OAS to send observers to supervise parliamentary elections next year.

Gen Carlos Humberto Romero, president of El Salvador, made the above statements in a speech to the nation to curb the violence which is sweeping the country. The President of the United States, James Carter, approves of this.

Political observers report that the U.S. government rejected President Romero's proposal to visit Washington to meet with high U.S. government officials about the situation in El Salvador; these sources asserted that the United States will strengthen its ties with the Central American nation if it adopts more democratic procedures.

The United States has been encouraging Romero to adopt a more liberal posture in the face of the fear that El Salvador may become another Nicaragua.

The source has said that El Salvador's leftist movements have adopted as their symbol the Sandinista flag, while the groups of the right increase their repressive tactics. It is said that the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and the Pentagon advocate the resumption of military assistance to El Salvador but that the Department of State does not consider it advisable.

While Romero, president of El Salvador, was making his speech to the whole nation, eight masked persons broke into a mechanical repair shop and killed



the owner of the shop and seven workers. The owner was identified as Oscar Valle Rosales, an electromechanical engineering graduate from the Patrice Lumumba University, in the Soviet Union. It is being said that Valle Rosales was the head of a clandestine cell of the People's Liberation Forces [FPL].

The DIARIO DE HOY, a San Salvador newspaper, reported that FPL literature and books and correspondence in Russian were found in the repair shop. Some sectors attribute the crime to the White War Union [UGB] which is ultra rightist.

Groups of workers occupied two factories near the capital. The Molins factory is in the hands of workers who are demanding higher pay. The workers are holding several executives. The enterprise Apex was occupied by the workers because it does not comply with the labor laws.

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CUBAN PRESS AGENCY INTERVIEW WITH HUMBERTO ORTEGA

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 21 Aug 79 p 6

[PRENSA LATINA interview with Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Sandinist People's Army and member of the Joint National Command of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], in Managua, 20 August]

[Text] Managua, 20 August—One month after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution and on the same day that his appointment as commander in chief of the Sandinist People's Army became known, Humberto Ortega Saavedra granted an interview to PRENSA LATINA in which he reveals the theoretical and practical aspects that characterize the current stage of national construction and speaks about the main repercussions of the process on the domestic scene and in the international framework.

Commander Humberto Ortega, 32 years old, member of the Joint National Command of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, is one of the architects of the concept and execution of the victorious Nicaraguan insurrection and for that reason his answers are essential for the better understanding of the struggle that took place in Nicaragua and the effect of the forms that struggle assumes on present and coming stages.

In general, there is agreement in stating that the insurrectional form was the principal keynote of the struggle against the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and the question on this subject led Commander Ortega to establish in the first place that "the Sandinist popular and armed insurrection is part of a whole process of revolutionary war based on integration of the revolutionary process of the thirties."

The "General of Free Men," Augusto Cesar Sandino, explains the commander introduced a revolutionary element in that war that presents itself as a classic civil war between liberal-conservative classes and the incipient revolutionary movement. "The phenomenon of the insurrection in Nicaragua has its roots in those years. Suspended by U.S. armed intervention, which in turn generates Sandino's anti-interventionist, anti-imperialist war it concludes in 1933 with the defeat of the United States."

Sandino's struggle could not stop there. The Nicaraguan people suffered 100,000 casualties at that time and the main axis began to gravitate in its domestic political aspect toward the national class struggle, and that is the reason why at that time Sandino even spoke about the need to form a party. Then he was murdered and the dictatorship that was established rekindles class contradictions and causes a new era of Sandinist struggle to be reborn.

Commander Ortega continues his summary: Armed outbreaks occur in Nicaragua in the fifties. After the execution of Anastasio Somoza Garcia, various guerrilla nuclei [focos] develop between 1956 and 1960. Documents of the Sandinist Front of the sixties considers and analyzes this possibility.

It defines it as follows: "The insurrectional method has to be viewed as the accumulation of a struggle, as the ultimate result of the economic and political crisis of the system. The Sandinist Front is the synthesis of the experience of those years and resumes a political-military struggle that remained unfinished with the murder of Sandino."

In Nicaragua, the forms of armed struggle gained strength, were maintained and, with the emergence of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, were expanded. The experience was born in the mountain regions but it was not until the daring attacks on the National Guard that the FSLN made a qualitative leap in its political-military accumulated experience.

In addition: "Here, the popular insurrection was not developed in a short time as in other countries. It was prolonged, and it had particular characteristics because of the economic-political structure of the Somoza regime and imperialist penetration. The importance of the 1977 attacks lies in the fact that the front changes from the defensive to the offensive."

It was at that time also that the front decided to make tactical alliances.

"All of it was set within the framework of the crisis of the Somoza regime as a system. And that crisis made possible those daring revolutionary acts, both as regards armed attacks and the achievement of the alliances. That crisis intensified with the murder of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro (10 January 1978)."

Commander Ortega's conclusions on this subject were as follows: "The Nicaraguan insurrection is an achievement of the FSLN in its entirety because despite the existence of different lines at that time, it succeeded in consolidating a single political concept. It is for that reason that the insurrection is not only military. The war here was manifested in all of its aspects, but especially the political. In a war, not only military aspects must be considered.

"In the development and victory of the insurrection, we must consider in the first place the unity of the revolutionary movement in a single

political and military concept. In the second place, the offensive, constantly offensive aspect of the front, an aspect that also occurred in the political and military areas.

"The insurrection is the product of a process having deep historical roots."

Question: Did previous historical experiences influence those concepts in any way?

Answer: As a matter of fact, we Nicaraguans were first concerned about understanding our own historical process. And once we studied it, understood it and interpreted it, we began to seek the theoretical rudiments of the experiences of other peoples.

What we learned most from the revolutionary victory in Cuba was the historically constant boldness of the Cubans. And not only from the attack on Moncada Barracks but the boldness that is found in the whole Cuban history starting with the independist struggles.

We combined the modes of guerrilla fighting but we also created mobile forces in the cities and the countryside, which I believe is a unique experience in Latin America.

We also extracted some experiences from the Bolshevik Revolution regarding the modes of regular military fighting and especially the political firmness that it is necessary to maintain in war.

Question: And with regard to the alliances, commander?

Answer: Prior to 1977, we did not intervene in the political developments of the country out of a sort of conservatism of our political concept and because we believed that to carry out a given action we first had to accumulate forces. But then we drew the conclusion that the alliances are the product of the correct analysis of the correlation of forces at a given moment.

But the concept of alliances is also a cliché. I would not say that we have made alliances. In reality we have implemented a policy that enabled us to broaden, to develop ourselves.

In order for the insurrection to be implemented nationally, it was necessary for us to unite the whole nation in all sectors that had contradictions with the Somoza regime. Without that very broad policy, we would have not achieved an insurrection of a popular nature like the one that occurred here.

Question: To what degree does the form of popular insurrection influence or determine the course of the process following the victory?

Answer: The fact of having gained power by arms and with broad popular participation makes it possible to carry out the program and for the nature of the process to be revolutionary.

It enables us to have a solid guarantee that the people will support that program and rally around Sandinist control. The armed victory makes it possible to intensify the process.

Question: How do you describe the present stage of national construction?

Answer: It is a stage that is needed on the national level and that fits into the current context of the world and of Latin America. On the national level, it will make it possible to set down firm economic bases to move toward higher stages of the current basic social demands, such as health, education, housing, transportation and even agrarian reform. It will make it possible for the historic changes to be of a nature in which various national sectors will participate.

It is necessary to consider that these changes are linked to the most urgent needs of the most needy classes. National reconstruction must, therefore, serve to move to a higher stage of political and social development, and without going through it there could not be in Nicaragua a future democratic, liberal or other type of society, in accordance with our subsequent decisions.

National reconstruction is indeed a very particular stage for Nicaragua. We define it as a stage of popular-democratic revolution.

Question: And how will you confront the class struggle that will present itself in that stage?

Answer: In order that that struggle not become intensified, it is necessary to fulfill the program that the front and the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie will support. It is necessary then to fight against various types of deviation. But here, even the bourgeois sectors, I refer to the more realistic, understand that they must fulfill that program. Even abroad, certain sectors have begun to understand it.

Question: In that connection, how is this stage of national reconstruction related to the present foreign policy of the government junta?

Answer: It is combined precisely on the basis of the type of programs we are carrying out. A whole number of countries cannot fail to pay attention to what is happening in Nicaragua. That is so, independently of the contradictions that may present themselves in the future. We will see what forms they take when those contradictions present themselves.

The situation in Nicaragua necessarily has to be seen in the context of the control that imperialism still has on the continent and thus it will be understood that it is not in our interest to intensify the contradictions.

As regards the understanding that is developing in certain sectors abroad, we observe that it increases as we normalize our process, which gives

confidence in the less reactionary sectors of the United States. One of its greatest concerns is that there not be instability in the Central American area.

That is why those sectors are interested in seeing that this process becomes normalized. And we say that if they do not permit the Nicaraguan revolutionary process to become normalized, then the crisis will intensify in this country and in the area; the crisis will intensify in other countries in Central America. This explains, on the other hand, why the Americans have not been able to intervene militarily, because the context does not permit it.

Question: And in that framework, what is the importance or the repercussion of the Nicaraguan revolutionary change in Latin America?

Answer: What has happened here has served for a number of countries of a democratic type to gain ground in the contradictions that exist in Latin America, with the big multinationals and U.S. imperialism. The essential change from a dictatorial government of over 40 years is of great interest to those countries. And the bourgeois-type governments are also interested so that their national economic representatives may gain ground.

But another level of interest produced by the Nicaraguan revolution is the great attention that all the peoples of Latin America are paying to it. Logically, a revolution such as ours has to stimulate the revolutionaries.

But we are aware that the methods of our revolution cannot be the pattern, the model for the other revolutionary movements in Latin America.

Let the peoples who seek to take experience from us do so. But they must keep very much in mind that it cannot be applied automatically but rather should be based on their own historical experiences, their own situation. The enemy will also draw his lessons from this process.

In conclusion, the Nicaraguan revolution has impressed everyone: friend and foe alike.

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## NICARAGUA

### NEW PRESS LAW; COMMENTS ON LAW

#### Text of Provisional Law

San Jose 1A NACION in Spanish 25 Aug 79 p 2-B

/Text of the General Provisional Law on the Communications Media in Nicaragua issued 19 August 1979/

#### /Text/ Chapter I - Basic Concepts

##### Article One

- a) Freedom of information, as represented by freedom of opinion and freedom of speech in the mass communications media, constitutes a guarantee for the exercise of the professional duties of publication, circulation, broadcasting or dissemination of news, ideas or opinions and it consecrates the right of the people to report, express opinions and be fully informed through the real exercise of their social responsibility.
- b) Freedom of information is one of the basic principles of true democracy and the state must guarantee, as a means of guaranteeing its complete independence, that there is no objective possibility that it can be directly or indirectly subjected to the economic power of any social group.
- c) It is the social responsibility of the communications media to report truthfully and coherently, to correctly reflect the views of the social groups and to value and champion the common objectives of the entire population.

#### Chapter II - Protection of the Social Order, Education and Culture

##### Article Two

- a) Criticism or critical commentary, as well as all reporting, on public actions must be constructive and based on events that have

been properly verified and cross-checked with the statements of those responsible for the actions and the sources of the information.

- b) The formats described in the preceding clause must express legitimate concern for the defense of revolutionary gains, the reconstruction process and the problems of the Nicaraguan people and they should not be tools that go against the interests of the people.

It is the responsibility of the State to promote whatever is necessary for the development and progress of culture and education and, therefore, guarantee that the means of communications are vehicles for them. In this respect it is considered immoral and contrary to the education and culture of the people and, therefore, it is forbidden to publish, distribute, circulate, display, broadcast, exhibit, transmit or sell:

- (a) writings, sketches, recordings, paintings, prints, reproductions, announcements, emblems, photographs or other objects that encourage vice, that are demeaning, pornographic or morbid;
- (b) which exploit the woman as a sexual or commercial object;
- (c) which contain topics that could destroy devotion to the work ethic, enthusiasm for studies or consideration of the efforts required by every legitimate victory;
- (d) which encourage passiveness, laziness or a belief in fate as a guide for a persons conduct;
- (e) which defend leaders whose success depends on evading the law and on disrespect for established institutions;
- (f) which advertise alcoholic beverages or cigarettes;
- (g) that threaten Nicaragua's nationality its language and, in general its historical and cultural values;
- (h) that exhibit or display common criminal acts, particularly those which involve minors or crimes dealing with the people's honor;
- (i) that affect the privacy or the very personal life of individuals;
- (j) that utilize national symbols, the words and deeds of our heroes and martyrs, our national anthem and slogans and, in general, our entire legacy of revolutionary struggle for commercial propaganda.

#### Article Four [sic]

Advertisements for medicine and pharmaceutical products must be approved beforehand by the Minister of Health.

#### Article Five

The nation has direct control over its geographical territory and, as a result, of the means by which electromagnetic waves are transmitted. This control is inalienable and indispensable.

#### Article Six

The operation of radio and television is comprised of the use of electromagnetic waves through the installation, operation and management of broadcast stations by using the modulation, amplitude, frequency, television or facsimile systems or any other technical procedure possible.

The use of the air waves as mentioned in the preceding article will be by concession or permission granted by the Executive Branch and will be subject to technical regulations that will be issued on the matter.

#### Chapter IV [as published] Responsibilities of the Minister of Culture

#### Article Seven

Until such time as specific laws are issued governing the operation of the mass communications media, the Minister of Culture will be responsible for:

- a) enforcing compliance of all provisions contained in this law;
- b) being familiar with and registering the communications media through regulations issued specifically for this purpose by the Ministry of Culture;
- c) study and resolve with the proper consultation any problems stemming from the technical operation of radio and television;
- d) obtaining from the electronic media, network broadcasting of messages or appeals deemed by reasons of state to be of great importance to the people of Nicaragua.

#### Article Eight

Criminal liability for crimes committed while exercising freedom of information can be imposed only by an ordinary court with all the procedural guarantees possible given to the defendant.

## Article Nine

Reporters are basically liable for guaranteeing individual, social and professional responsibility in the use of the communications media. In this respect, any reporter wishing to practice his profession in the communications media, in keeping with the regulations that will be issued in this respect, must be a member, with the attendant responsibilities and rights, of the Association of Nicaraguan Journalists and of the Managua Union of Radio Broadcasters.

## Chapter VI [as published] Controversies

### Article Ten

A permanent special council is hereby created to oversee the operation of the mass communications media and it will be composed as follows: (a) one representative from the Minister of Culture, (b) one representative from among the media directors and (c) one representative from the Association of Nicaraguan Journalists (UPN).

### Article Eleven

The council mentioned in the preceding article will be authorized to decide when agreement cannot be reached between the Minister of Culture and the communications media over the application of the provisions of this law.

The council's decisions can be appealed to the Government Junta through administrative summary proceedings.

### Article Twelve

Any individual or corporation can appeal to the Minister of Culture to request time and space in the media if they feel that their request has been unfairly rejected. To solve the matter, the procedure outlined in the preceding article will be followed.

### Article Thirteen

This law will go into effect today as of its publication by any of the media without prejudice to its later publication in the Official Gazette.

Managua, National District--This 19th day of August 1979. Year of Liberation. Government Junta of National Reconstruction: Violeta B. de Chamorro, Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, Moises Hassen Morales and Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

## Columnist Sees Dangers

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 26 Aug 79 p 12-A

/Article by Guido Fernandez: "Nicaraguan Press Law Provides Precarious Frame of Reference for Criticism"/

/Text/ Since 16 August Nicaragua has had a new press law whose most striking features are its ambiguity, inaccuracy and, as a result, the possibility that it will be misused depending on the standards used by the official entrusted with its enforcement.

The law, a short, provisional judicial document--13 articles--that will be in force as long as any laws issued by the state council--when it is formed--do not change or revoke it, can make it a criminal offense or an infraction for a reporter or a newspaper to conduct their professional activities, activities that are not prohibited where unrestricted freedom of information is allowed.

The law is based on three basic concepts which establish, beginning with Article One, a very precarious framework for exercising the right of criticism and freedom of information in a country which will need both if it wishes to provide its political, social and economic reconstruction with democratic direction.

Paragraph (a), for example, establishes that freedom of information is a right of the people, not of individuals, and that it should be exercised with social responsibility. According to Paragraph (b) that freedom "should neither be directly or indirectly subjected to any social group," and according to Paragraph (c) news must be "coherent" and "correctly reflect the views of social groups and value and champion the common objectives of the community."

The limits of the law are imprecise and, therefore, it can be assumed that the authorities--in this case the Ministry of Culture--will be responsible for its enforcement in those cases where there is some question about the reporter's conduct. Ultimately, it will be that official who will decide whether a newspaper is or is not reflecting the interests of any given social group although there is no reason why any particular group cannot have its own publication in a regime where ideological competition and a multi-party system are permitted.

The veracity of a news report and the correct way in which it does or does not reflect the aspirations of social groups are highly subjective concepts over which there can be much room for disagreement. Isn't it best to allow the reader or listener to be the final judge in determining which means of communication deserve the people's confidence and should flourish and which do not and should close down?

Not less precarious is Article Two's provision which states that criticism should be constructive and based on "properly proven events that have been objectively confirmed."

The modern journalist knows that malicious reporting, whether it is false or not sufficiently verified, is forbidden. But it is easy for the authorities to allege that it is, especially when the ethics of public administrators is in question! With a provision of this kind, the person responsible for enforcing the law has a very powerful extortion tool in his hands, one which could be used to silence journalists who are attempting to investigate, inquire about or question any policy or decision which they feel might be contrary to the public interest.

Article Four [as published] contains a list of prohibitions, including one of the most basic definitions of journalist ethics with which no one can disagree. Reporters and newspapers are prohibited from publishing articles that are demeaning, "pornographic or morbid," use the woman as a commercial or sex symbol, that destroy the work ethic or encourage laziness, that glorify the criminal, threaten "Nicaragua's nationality" and its values and affect personal lives, and so forth.

It could be said that this list of topics which cannot be discussed is, in any case, innocuous. However, in this respect ideas are expressed and there is a great deal of room for disagreement over their interpretation. As, for example, in the case of what constitutes a threat to national sovereignty and cultural values.

This law contains some provisions that are of unquestionable legality and origin and are similar to the codes or laws of the most democratic nations in the world. For example, the one that requires that advertisements for medicine and pharmaceutical products be approved by the Minister of Health, or the one that places under state control the air waves used by radio and television which can only be operated under a government license, or the one which provides network time for messages the government feels are important to the nation.

However, along with these provisions that no one would dare to criticize, there are others that are inappropriate. Such as, for example, the one that forces publications to obtain a license to allow their circulation. This is the equivalent of giving the authorities the power to decide who should enjoy a right that, on the other hand, the law tends to guarantee in the most open manner. Closely related to this is the provision requiring reporters to belong to a non-professional union organization before they can practice their profession.

If, on the one hand, the government decides who should be allowed to publish and, on the other, it is a union that provides the license to practice journalism, the possibilities for exercising that liberty and this right can be severely limited because of ideological union or political reasons which could constitute an insurmountable obstacle to providing the government with the benefits of criticism and of a free and diverse press.



The law establishes a curious process when it states that a council formed by the Minister of Culture, the "media" (sic) and union reporters will hear the cases in which no agreement could be reached between the communications media and the Minister of Culture over enforcement of the law. And it is even more curious when it states that the council's resolutions can be appealed to the Government Junta.

It is interesting to note that in the three steps of the administrative process, the government is always present with the full power of being the only judge in the first step, of being a member of the council in the second step and of being able to rule on a decision in the third step.

Are these sufficient guarantees for a balanced process in those cases where a report is considered to be incorrect or criticism is considered to be destructive or commentary is defined as contrary to the "national interest"?

Not less ominous is the provision in Article 12 which states that "any individual or corporation might (sic) be able to appeal to the Minister of Culture to request time or space in any of the media if they feel that their request was unfairly rejected."

If an effort is being made to legislate the right of reply, the law is mistaken and it opens unnecessary floodgates. But if this is an effort to provide everyone with an opportunity to appeal to the Minister of Culture, if for some reason they are denied access to the media, this provision is actually promoting the erosion of the media and the reign of uncertainty over what can or cannot be published.

With this law the Nicaraguan Government Junta has committed the same mistake that all governments do when they feel that it is necessary to provide press legislation. The conditions, limits, requirements and demands imposed over the free exercise of press freedom are so defective that they can lend themselves to arbitrary interpretation or lead to self-censorship so that instead of giving Nicaragua a free press the country will have an emasculated press.

If a law like this had been enforced with the arbitrariness that characterized the four decades of the Somoza dynasty, a brave and fighting newspaper like LA PRENSA could not have waged the struggle it did against Somoza's regime.

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CSO: 3010

NICARAGUA

TORRES: COUNTRY IS NOT GOING LEFT

San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 27 Aug 79 p 4

/Interview with Agriculture Development Minister Manuel Jose Torres;  
date and place not given/

/Text/ "If Somoza decides to return to Nicaragua, so much the better. We are looking for him," replied Agriculture Development Minister Manuel Jose "Mache" Torres happily.

Torres was responding to a question about statements made by former dictator Anastasio Somoza in Paraguay that he would return to Nicaragua if the Junta of Reconstruction kept its promise to hold free elections.

Since Somoza criticized the Junta saying that some of its members are merely "tokens" while the rest are communist, Manuel Jose Torres said:

"Somoza has no moral authority to criticize the Junta of Reconstruction. He is now the leader of all the jackals and all the Nazis in the world in his Paraguayan cave. We will see what resources are needed to draw that tiger from his cave."

/Question/ Mr Minister, a reporter asked, has the government of Nicaragua asked for U.S. assistance in obtaining Somoza's extradition?

/Answer/ For the moment I cannot say anything official on this matter. But we are working on that. I believe that it will be more difficult if that tiger buries himself even deeper into that cave he found in Paraguay.

/Question/ Somoza says that Nicaragua is slowly moving to the left.

/Answer/ The best answer to that is the existence of freedom of the press in Nicaragua, the publication of LA PRENSA, the new press law and the opening of all radio stations in the country. Our Junta of National Reconstruction is composed of representatives from all sectors. It is a government composed of all political parties, of all persuasions. It is true political pluralism which is governing Nicaragua. Today, a short

time after the installation of a new government, a Government Council is being organized. It will be a type of legislative branch for Nicaragua and it will be composed of the genuine representatives of the political, economic, labor and union sectors and so forth. In other words, the people of Nicaragua will participate in the Council rather than just a single family as was the case during Somoza's reign.

/Question/ Mr Minister, asked reporter Guillermo Castellanos, what are the possibilities that Nicaragua will recover all of the wealth that was taken by the Somoza dynasty?

/Answer/ The Junta of National Reconstruction has created a Trust Department which is responsible for handling that task. Everyone is aware that the ruling family owned some 60 percent of the nation's wealth. Recovering that wealth is basic to Nicaragua's development operations since we must provide health care, education, roads, agrarian reform and so many other services which could bring progress to our country over the short term.

/Question/ When will elections be held in Nicaragua?

/Answer/ At this time, no date has been set. We are just moving out of the postwar period and entering a reconstruction phase which will be followed by a period of reorganization. After this the principal goal of the Junta of National Reconstruction will be to lead the nation to something which we have never experienced: completely free elections.

I will be 47 in September and I have never been able to vote in my country.

/Question/ What has been the response of international organizations to Nicaragua's request for assistance?

/Answer/ The answer lies in the visits to Nicaragua of representatives from these credit organizations. Large and expanded work commissions have come to Nicaragua to expand, grant and improve credits that had already been granted. Yesterday I met in my office with an IADB delegation that informed me that they were ready to disburse several million dollars for agricultural development in Nicaragua. This involves promoting projects that were draw up over 10 years ago and now they will have to be completed in 3 months.

There are also large grants from AID, FAO, friendly governments throughout the world as well as from the international banking community and Central American banks. Finally, there is the aid mentioned by the Costa Rican minister who is considering extending to us a credit for \$25 million as a gesture of true brotherhood on the part of a Central American nation.

**BORGE DEFINES POLICEMAN ROLE**

**Honest Attitude**

Managua RADIO SANDINO in Spanish 1800 GMT 20 Sep 79 PA

[Speech by Interior Minister Tomas Borge at Managua Police Headquarters to graduating policemen 20 September--recorded]

[Excerpts] We have said on another occasion what the Sandinist policeman should be. Will the policeman have a frown on his face, a nightstick in his hand and biting words ready on his lips or, on the contrary, will he be a policeman with a smile from the heart, with his hands extended and a profoundly honest attitude that will not allow him to accept bribes from anyone?

In our country many errors may be made and there may be many faults. But the policeman who accepts bribes, the policeman who is aggressive to the people, the policeman who is overbearing and arrogant will be considered a criminal in this country, [applause] worse than thieves and worse than those who commit other kinds of crimes.

You have been trained brothers, to love the people. This education will have to be cultivated in the future.

Of course, when we say the policeman must have a smile from the heart and his hands extended, we do not mean this is the attitude that should be taken with regard to our enemies.

**Implacable With Enemies**

Managua RADIO SANDINO in Spanish 1800 GMT 20 Sep 79 PA

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Eden Pastora at Managua Police Headquarters by Abel Calero; date not given--recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] What should our attitude be toward our enemies?

[Answer] As far as our enemies are concerned, our patience has been exhausted. Everything in this world has a limit, and our revolutionary patience has been

exhausted. Our fellow policemen must be harsh. Those are the orders which they have received from our brother and companion Tomas Borge--to be implacable with our enemies, both the hidden and the overt ones. Those of the extreme right and of the ultraleft, who do not understand this phase of the revolutionary process and expect us to have Diogenes' lamp, or rather Aladdin's lamp, to perform miracles.

A mere 2 months after entering Managua, only 50 days after starting to work, many childish persons want us to have already resolved the problems other brotherly peoples have been unable to solve in 20 long years.

CSO: 3010

'LA PRENSA' COST-CUTTING URGED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 7 Sep 79 p 7 PA

["Buzon Popular" column: "A Bourgeois Takes His Proper Place" by Pedro Rivera Mendoza]

[Text] In the Wednesday, 5 September, edition of the newspaper LA PRENSA (the most expensive in Central America), Pedro J. Chamorro Barrios, seeking to explain the use and abuse of the word "bourgeoisie" does nothing but defend the class to which he belongs. He gives no semantic or etymological explanation of the word and only limits himself to saying that it is "synonymous with exploitation and insult" and that "there has been much demagogy in the use of that phrase." (Whom does he refer to? What demagogue?)

To speak the truth is not demagogy. We all know what the word bourgeoisie means and who it implies, but let us define the concept according to F. Engels: "By bourgeoisie we understand the modern capitalist class which owns social production means that employs salaried workers." According to this concept, to call a capitalist who exploits the worker class a bourgeois is not an offense or demagogy. It only describes what he is--a bourgeois, an exploiter.

When the term "these bourgeois" is used, as Chamorro says, it is not an offense but a way of referring to certain individuals who, being of proletarian origin, want to become bourgeois and become nothing more than hybrids between the two classes.

Chamorro maintains that in Nicaragua "a sector of the bourgeoisie has acted very well" and that "many leaders of the revolution are of bourgeois origin." In all countries of the world--France, Germany, Great Britain and so forth--since the proletarian class began to take its first steps the bourgeoisie has been "revolutionary," but only to protect its own interests, because as Marx and Engels explained in the Communist Manifesto, "A part of the bourgeoisie wants to remedy social ills in order to consolidate bourgeois society."

As for the fact that "many leaders are of bourgeois origin," this does not mean that they are still bourgeois, since they have renounced the privileges of that class. (Letter from companion Edgard Lang to his father Don Federico Lang, read by the latter at the former's burial.)



"The bourgeoisie includes everything," Chamorro says. The bourgeoisie is one and is everywhere and does not have anything only capitalist exploiters of the worker class. What has really happened is that the bourgeoisie in its effort to increase its capital has "stripped all professionals" doctors, jurists, priests...of their halo and so forth, making them paid servants, thus becoming their own gravediggers."

In his conclusion, companion Chamorro affirms: "Therefore I believe that Nicaraguans must avoid divisionist concepts of classes." We cannot change the course of history because the struggle of classes really exists and the Nicaraguan proletariat will have to play its role in the revolutionary process in forming the new Nicaraguan society--Sandinist--since it is natural that in each country the proletariat must put an end to its own bourgeoisie, and to "promote construction, production, work, stressing the solidarity of the new Nicaragua." I believe that the most appropriate thing would be to make LA PRENSA cheaper (to start), consonant with its former price, and not make the people pay for what it has not destroyed. Having to pay 2 cordobas (\$2.00), a veritable price of exploitation, characteristic of small and large bourgeoisie.

CSO: 3010

# NEW CONCEPT OF JUSTICE DISCUSSED

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 Sep 79 p 8 PA

[Text] A new concept of justice is being applied in free Nicaragua. The new idea is: Justice of liberation. In an interview with BARRICADA, Dr Aquiles Centeno Perez, supreme court justice, speaks of this new revolutionary concept.

"When the leaders of the Sandinist peoples revolution appointed those of us who would administer justice in Nicaragua, we understood that we could not administer something that was nonexistent, that it was necessary to create it in order to administer it," companion Centeno Perez said.

"Later we realized that the Sandinist peoples revolution needs a justice of liberation, totally different than that of oppression and vengeance, which existed during the dictatorship, that it should be carried out both in the juridical and legal order, because these are structures directly related to the socioeconomic structures under transformation," companion Centeno added.

"The new concepts of law and justice rest on revolutionary pillars, that is: the expression of the struggle of liberation, or the struggle of independence. We understood the need to create a new man and a new law to regulate penal, civilian and labor aspects.

"We are dedicated to the first task, to build a new man in the judiciary branch, and for this we start with the premise that justice of liberation cannot be administered by a man who administered repressive justice. No one who was included on the Somozist payroll can be designated a member of the judiciary. There is no reelection of judges or magistrates, and we have purged all offices of those who were at the service of the dictatorship and who passed on its vices," Centeno stated.

"Once we fulfill the organizational task, we will tackle the second task," he indicated. "We will reform law and justice, which must be the expression of the new relations among Nicaraguans. For this we will invite the participation of the most eminent Latin American jurists, and with their assistance we will build the structures of the justice of liberation."

Following the 1972 earthquake the palace of justice built by Somozism through illegal bids and with favoritism was totally destroyed and the judiciary offices were transferred to the Josefa Toledo de Aguerrri School.

Companion Centeno Perez announced that the offices will be transferred to a place where the public can be dealt with more efficiently.

"The supreme court will be transferred to Plaza Espana and the office of property registration to the front of Cazaret House, where the Somozist general named Noguera lived. We are seeking an adequate place for the courts," companion Centeno stated.

A bill is being drafted to improve the wages of judiciary personnel. Judges will not get privileges of any kind and will earn only the salary assigned by the Sandinist peoples revolution. The magistrates will earn 10,000 cordobas, which is the highest that can be earned by any worker in the revolutionary state.

CSO: 3010

AGRARIAN REFORM MINISTER DISCUSSES PROGRESS

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 14 Sep 79 p 4 PA

[Text] Revolutionary commander and member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) Joint National Directorate, Jaime Wheelock, agrarian reform minister, informed BARRICADA today that housing, medical care, training, organization and the literacy campaign are receiving a great stimulus.

The minister said the agrarian reform intends to make an equitable distribution of land among the landless peasants and the rural population.

"Our country is predominantly agricultural. Most Nicaraguans live in rural areas and all of Nicaragua lives from agriculture. For us the agricultural heritage is of national and social interest. Our agrarian reform must adjust to the principle that land is the heritage of the Nicaraguan people," Commander Jaime Wheelock said.

"We are going to develop an agrarian reform tending to establish state ownership of the means of production. We are going to promote a cooperative movement to socialize individual production. We are going to develop a community program for production and cooperation."

Commander Wheelock remained silent a moment and then gave the example of community control of machinery, marketing or the consumption of certain goods. The idea, he said, is to promote a collective social-type effort in all sectors in which we work.

Regarding the results of this great enterprise, Commander Jaime said:

"We have completed a large part of the programs dealing with the organization of state farms and production communities."

In Leon we have 83 production communities. In Matagalpa we have over 160 state-owned coffee and cattle ranches. We have the San Juan River area under control. In short, we have agrarian reform and economic development advancing at the same time.

"We must naturally keep in mind that we have our limitations. We are not going to have difficulties in land distribution because we have a clear-cut idea

of how we are going to do it. The problem lies in the speed with which we cover the rural areas with housing and health care. This is where revolutions start. We are going to concentrate on the social aspects."

BARRICADA asked if only the peasants will benefit from the agrarian reform, and the commander replied: "The benefit will be for the Nicaraguan people. To the extent that we export more coffee, sugar, cattle and rice, we are going to earn more foreign currency and open more sources of employment."

Also, he said, we are going to reverse the process of migration from the rural areas into the cities. We are going to develop a trend from the cities into the country. We are going to build settlements and create sources of employment so that the unemployed in the city can have a place to develop their capabilities and become useful to the country.

Recently, Wheelock said, there has been a proliferation of business managers and accountants. We need managers and accountants on the ranches and these persons can go there and be of use to the Nicaraguan economy.

"Not only will the peasant benefit," the commander continued. "In the Atlantic areas, for example, we are going to develop great agroindustrial projects. The neglected population will be incorporated into agricultural work by means of permanent production plans to put an end to seasonal employment. We are going to use irrigation all year round. In short, we are going to benefit the poor and middle peasant, the farmworkers, the workers and the people in general."

Regarding the resources available to the Nicaraguan agrarian reform institute [INRA] to carry out these ambitious programs, the minister said: "Our resources are limited: We have some financing from international sources, but it is really not much..."

"What we have mostly is business budgets, great plans for industrial production which will produce surpluses, and we are going to use this economic capability to promote social-type plans, although undoubtedly our main resource will be foreign financing."

We asked Commander Wheelock about the enemies of the agrarian reform, who they were and how we are going to deal with them. Jaime replied with the assurance of a capable and responsible leader:

"Our greatest enemy is Somoism, which bankrupted our sources of income and left a deep socioeconomic problem expressed by illiteracy, underdevelopment and confusion. And we have other enemies, such as the idle landowner who has never worked his land. He is a parasite and an enemy of the agrarian reform because he owns large tracts of land which do not benefit the people, industry or himself."

What does it mean to Jaime Wheelock to be a revolutionary leader and why was he appointed agrarian reform minister? "We all feel responsible for an appointment made by the people and by our leaders. Rather than feeling like a

high-ranking official with power, we feel responsibility. We are representatives of the people."

"As to why the national directorate wanted one member to be responsible for agrarian reform, it is because we have a responsibility to the revolutionary peasant who supported our revolution from the beginning as guerrillas and in the new ways of fighting the dictatorship. The peasantry was the social sector that suffered the most. It has been the most neglected and has lived in the worst conditions. Therefore one of us had to guarantee that the peasants' demands would be fulfilled."

Can we describe Commander Wheelock as a career officer, as a man with a vocation for military discipline?

"We go where we are sent. When we have to organize, we organize. When we are sent to do social research, we do it. When we are sent to the field to lead troops we are officers. Now we are involved in a socioeconomic reconstruction task and in expanding our revolution. Here we are playing the role of organizational leaders with political-military discipline and therefore we have military authority..."

For Jaime Wheelock the greatest problem confronting the revolution is the critical state of the national economy, which was so deep in debt that each Nicaraguan owed \$600 without having received a single cent. The degree of destruction caused by the war is also very great, the minister said.

Commander Jaime believes that there is no danger of a counterrevolution from abroad. Our country won a crushing military victory over the Somozist army, which was destroyed politically by the cowardice of its leaders. Besides, he said, the Somozist army was deceived and Somozism has no authority. It is demoralized.

"I believe that a counterrevolution can come to the extent that we are not firm and realistic and neglect to expand our revolution. What we fear most is a lack of financing and underdevelopment. We have the total support of the Nicaraguan people. Never has the FSLN been so popular as it is today. We have difficulties and problems, but the people understand them. Our army is consolidated and is acquiring more training. Before us there is only progress and positive perspectives, and no one can reverse the process."

"It is very difficult," Jaime continues, "for an armed force to attack us, as in 1927, because a war of unpredictable dimensions would follow. Nicaragua is not alone and we are going to ask for help if we are in trouble."

In concluding the interview with Wheelock, BARRICADA asked how the people are reacting to the transition stage toward a new government system. The minister replied:

Our people are very confident in the Sandinist Front and its leadership. The most evident fact is that our people see a revolution, and it is the clearest



historical fact on which it bases its trust. Some of us here want to advance at lightening speed. But this cannot be: there are many limitations and we must act according to the conditions existing today.

"We must maintain a united, not a divided society. It is not we, the FSLN, who will break national unity. This must be made clear because unity is the principle that guides our steps."

CSO: 3010

PERU

NAVY MINISTER ANNOUNCES SIX NEW CORVETTES, FOUR SUBMARINES FOR NAVY

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 8 Sep 79 p 1 PA

[Excerpt] Navy Minister Vice Adm Carlos Tirado Alcorta announced yesterday that six missile Corvettes and four submarines of the latest model will soon be incorporated in the Peruvian navy as part of the program to replace materiel which has been in use for more than 30 years.

Questioned by newsmen after the ceremony to incorporate the missile frigate Villavisencio, the navy minister expressed his deep satisfaction over this event. "As navy minister I am very pleased about the incorporation of the Villavisencio in our navy. We can truly be proud about this vessel since it represents an increase in our naval potential to defend the national interests and sovereignty," he added.

CSO: 3010

COUNCIL OF LAFTA MINISTERS TO MEET HERE NEXT JULY

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 18 Aug 79 p 8

[Text] The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 11 countries which form the Latin American Free Trade Association [LAFTA] will meet in Uruguay during the first half of next year. At that time important changes will be approved in the statutory structure of the body which will tend to bring it out of its present stagnation.

"In my judgment they should be measures which revitalize, stimulate, make more pragmatic the functioning of the body with beneficial results not only for Uruguay but for the 11 contracting parties, through a system of a multiplicity of mechanisms, through flexibility and through partial, subregional, coordinating actions which collaborate with, consolidate and support the overall integrating action," said Col Adolfo Donamari, chief of the delegation of Uruguay to LAFTA, who promoted the above-mentioned meeting.

With regard to the problems faced by LAFTA, created by the Montevideo agreement of 1960, Colonel Donamari pointed out: "The association has suffered from a certain sluggishness in its functioning, primarily in the last decade. A rigid plan for economic interpretation and trade liberalization cannot prosper if it is not complemented by other plans which might give the system greater flexibility, a less rigid character, and allow the countries of America, in accordance with their different economic policies and their own characteristics, to carry forward the process of economic integration in the area by means of different systems."

The 19th Conference of the Contracting Parties will take place in Montevideo in November to negotiate the different aspects of the proposed restructuring of LAFTA. The meeting of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs should take place before 31 July 1980.

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CSO: 3010

ECONOMIC CENSUS TO COVER SOME 25,000 ENTERPRISES

Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 15 Aug 79 p 6

[Text] The General Directorate of Statistics and Census [DGE] has begun the task of examining some 25,000 Uruguayan enterprises within the framework of the Second National Economic Census.

Authorities from that office explained yesterday the manner in which the task will be carried out, as well as the objectives pursued.

The census will cover the industrial, commercial and service establishments, state as well as private.

There will be a total of about 25,000 enterprises which will answer the questionnaires prepared for this purpose. About 20,000 have more than 5 employees while the remaining are a sample of the spectrum of small enterprises that have less than 5 employees. The country has 75,000 registered enterprises.

The information to be gathered will be for the year 1978.

The census is national in scope. For better organization it was decided to divide the country geographically into three areas: Montevideo, Interior South and Interior North (which consists of the departments north of the Rio negro [Negro River] and Cerro Largo and Treinta y Tres).

The questionnaire will be sent by mail to all the establishments covered by the census, which will be required to sign an acknowledgement of receipt. The blank itself will show the date by which it must be returned. The stipulated time period is about 60 days.

When the enterprises return the blanks with the required data a quick inspection of them will be made and subsequently a provisional certificate will be issued which will be required for many public transactions since the census is obligatory by presidential decree.

All the questionnaires will be protected by census secrecy which covers the private as well as the public sector. In this regard, it is worth adding that the answers cease to exist once they have been fed into the computer by means of the appropriate code.

Establishments in Montevideo should return the questionnaires to the DGECE itself. It is recommended that the same person who completes the questionnaire should return it. For the interior, department locations will be announced in due course.

The questionnaires indicate the procedures for arranging consultations in case of doubt.

#### Objectives and Benefits

The census is attempting to gather statistical information relative to establishments engaged in economic activity in the country.

The information obtained will permit the calculation of the gross national product and the study of trends in a broad range of aspects of the economy related to both public and private enterprises, which will make possible better future planning.

It will permit the gathering of information of interest related to occupation, salaries, energy consumed, investments and the use of national and foreign investments. All this will be at a national level as well as at the sector level.

Although on this occasion the sectors related to transportation and construction are not included, it is anticipated that they will be included in the next stage.

The census will take the entire period from the present time to the end of the year. During the first half of 1980 the initial information will become available.

It is worth pointing out that the previous economic census took place in 1969, based on the data for the year 1968.

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TARIFF REDUCTION TO BENEFIT CONSUMER, SAYS VEGH GARZON

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 17 Aug 79 p 8

[Text] Greater flexibility in the application of the tariff reduction policy to assure an adequate supply of goods and to stimulate commercial activity has been proposed by Engineer Carlos Vegh Garzon, president of the National Chamber of Commerce.

In an interview he granted the magazine FRIGORIFICOS he stated that the institution he heads supports the present economic policy since it strives for better allotments of resources and assures the businessman the freedom to plan his activity.

When asked about the outlook for the commercial sector, Vegh Garzon stated: "It is necessary to apply with greater flexibility the provisions of Decree No 736/78 dated 26 December 1978 in regard to the reduction of tariffs for all goods which are not produced in the country to facilitate their importation under the basic tariff of 35 percent.

He added: "This will permit a significant drop in consumer prices and will make available a varied range of products, the importation of which today--without benefit to anyone--is prohibitive. The application of this measure will favor commercial activity."

He was also asked for the position of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the economic policy applied during the last 5 years. "The National Chamber of Commerce [CNC] has from the beginning supported policies that recognize supply and demand as the best means of determining the allotment of resources," he said.

"It believes in the necessary freedom for the entrepreneur to plan his activity in an effort to obtain the optimum from his endeavors; this will result in the benefit of the consumer who will be better served in this manner. For this reason the CNC favors the present economic policy without prejudice to its ability to disagree with some specific measures or with the time tables for out established schedules.



"In reality the most remarkable thing about the performance of those who are responsible for directing the country's economy," he stated, "is the consistency which they have shown over a period of time which inspires the confidence of the financial leaders of business enterprises with regard to their own specific activities. Without confidence there is no response to any policy no matter how it is oriented."

#### Price and Salary Outlook

The discussion turned to prices and salaries. The question was to establish whether, since the decontrol of the market, which brought about a relationship between prices and salaries, there have been disproportionate increase of the former.

"If we were to guide ourselves by the official statistics, the reply would be affirmative since they reflect only the minimum salary increases established by DINACOPRIN /National Marketing and Distribution Enterprise Commission on Productivity, Prices and Income/," he explained. "However, we know through other indicators and the actual situation in the marketplace that there are enterprises whose remunerations are tied to the official variations. There are enterprises that pay greater salaries in accordance with changes in the cost of living and there are fields in which the effect of supply and demand has itself brought about even higher salaries than those resulting from the change in the cost of living.

"On the other hand, if in a country like Uruguay petroleum becomes more expensive, all Uruguayans will be worse off because they cannot do without the petroleum. This fact is independent of internal policies. However, there are prices, such as that of meat, which are very low. Some Uruguayans derive a benefit from harm suffered by other Uruguayans--those who produce.

"But if the price of meat goes up all Uruguayans should be happy because in the long run, the benefit is for all."

#### To Improve Production

/Question/ Could we stimulate the domestic market by increasing the per capita income?

/Answer/ "The answer is yes, in the long run. But it is not enough to answer in this way a question which could be misinterpreted," Vegh said.

"If everyone has a higher income because he has been able to earn more, the market, industry and the whole country will undoubtedly be stimulated by the improvement in the people's buying capacity.

"If incomes are artificially raised, for example, by a general salary increase which does not have a corresponding increase in production (productivity) and by expanding domestic credit, we would only repeat the collective swindle, which we are sick and tired of.

"It would not be a matter of greater income but of more paper money with a significantly lower purchasing power. In this case the answer would be no."

In regard to the period of time it will take to improve the standard of living of the majority of the people, he pointed out that it is much easier to squander an inheritance than to recover capital. "since there were so many years of errors let us not pretend that the solutions, especially in the economic field, will come quickly. The way is clear. The pace must be set by all."

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## MEAT IMPORTS TO HELP MAINTAIN CURRENT PRICES

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 20 Aug 79 p 1

/Text/ The government has ordered that a supply of meat be maintained to regulate the sale of meat, to be effective all over the country. Accordingly, the Supply Management Committee /CADA/ will distribute meat in any part of the country where it may be necessary and not exclusively in Montevideo and Canelones. The supply of frozen meat will last until November since there are 30,000 tons in stock. Engineer Juan Carlos Cassou, minister of Agriculture and Fishing reported this to LA MANANA.

The above-mentioned state secretary was questioned after the close of the National Ranchers Convention which took place in a downtown hotel in Montevideo where he made a speech during the closing session. Cassou confirmed that the first shipment acquired by the government, 500 tons of frozen meat, will be arriving in the country today. The minister said that this imported meat will be added to that which CADA already controls as will subsequent weekly shipments of similar size up to a total of 4,000 tons. He added that later on a decision will be made as to whether or not to exercise the option of purchasing new amounts up to a total of 8,000 tons, under the provisions of the government resolution. Cassou said that the stock for the regulation of the sale of meat consists of 30,000 tons and that it will be enough to last at least until November. "This meat will be distributed over the whole country. It will be sent to those areas where meat is requested either because there is a shortage or because the price is high." The minister of agriculture and fishing confirmed that the meat which is imported from Argentina will be sold on the market at the same price as frozen meat on which tariff has been paid, there being no reason for a difference in price.

Referring to the National Ranchers Convention he said, "It got the job done though it lasted for only 2 days, since there were discussion of really important subjects such as indebtedness, the raising of capital for the Rancher's Institute /IC/, technical assistance, the plan for sheep, that is, very specific points. I hope I will get them shortly so that I can study them in depth and see what resolutions we can adopt. The status

of the IC and consequently that of the ranchers will be dealt with as a part of the problems of the agricultural sector as a whole which are now being worked on," Cassou said, "and some measures will be adopted soon."

The minister of agriculture and fishing pointed out that this will not mean that the policy established in August 1978 will be changed, and he confirmed that it will continue in effect. This policy evidently turned out to be of more benefit to the cattle-breeding sector than to the agricultural sector although the latter responded well," he said, "and proof of this is that the wheat crop is over 300,000 hectares and the flax crop is over 100,000. The minister, in his speech to this effect at the closing session of the Fifth National Ranchers Convention, pointed out that an effort is being made to relieve the stagnation in the agricultural sector, especially the farming sector, but what is needed is an integrated rural development. The government economic working group is working toward this and there is a supervised credit assistance project which will be put into effect in Salto, on the order of \$10 million. The Banco Republica will provide 60 percent, the Banco Mundial 27 percent and the producers of the area 13 percent of the funds. He also announced that in the Florida farming area a model dairy farm will be established under the supervision of technicians from the Boerger Institute to provide assistance in the area. Overall, Cassou appeared encouraged by the seriousness and honesty with which numerous subjects were dealt at the Fifth National Ranchers Convention.

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## MEAT EXPORTS TO SPAIN DISCONTINUED

Montevideo LA MANANA in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 8

/Text/ Uruguay will be unable to sell meat to Spain as the result of the application by Spain of a measure suspending all purchases of meat abroad. This resolution will also work against the interest of numerous Latin American countries, but especially our country. At the same time a far-reaching change will take place in the balance of trade between Uruguay and Spain. At this time the records show a surplus for our country. All this emerges from information gathered by our Madrid correspondent Miguel Miro, and was confirmed in Montevideo by Juan Manuel Ortega, commercial counselor of the Spanish embassy.

In a few days a resolution will go into effect which was adopted last week by representatives of the ministries of agriculture, commerce and finance suspending the importation of meat, a measure which will initially be of a temporary nature as was reported from Madrid by our correspondent Miguel Miro. At the same time, in Montevideo the commercial counsellors for the embassy of Spain said in reference to future purchases of meat in our country, "It is not yet possible to determine what they will be since my government is analyzing the petitions of the Spanish cattle raisers who feel that they are being hurt by the purchase of meat abroad." On this point, Miro reported from Spain that the Cattle Breeders Association denounced the fraudulent practices in the importation of meat in what are supposedly shipments of fish, a fact that not only affects the Spanish market insofar as price is concerned but also poses a serious risk in that the appropriate health controls are not carried out. Our country has agreed to sell to Spain during the course of this year 4,000 tons of meat of which 1,600 tons are yet to be shipped. This sale, which significantly surpasses that of 1978 and which has made our mother country one of our principal buyers, was made at an average of \$2,200 per ton, although it is worth pointing out that a small lot of special loin cuts was sold at \$4,200 per tons. At this time--Juan Manuel Ortega, commercial counsellor stated--Uruguay has a surplus in the balance of trade which was also favorable last year due to Spain's selling our country merchandise worth \$9 million and Uruguay exporting a total of \$11 million, meat being one of the most important products traded between the two countries.

USE OF ELECTRIC POWER FOR RICE IRRIGATION CONSIDERED

Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 22 Aug 79 p 10

[Article by Gerardo Alzugaray: "Electrification"]

[Text] Treinta y Tres--An important change in the cultivation of rice in this department could take place in the next few months. Several producers of the crop have studied the possibility of installing electric irrigation systems in place of the usual diesel equipment.

The rising prices of fuels have turned irrigation costs into one of the major expenses of the rice harvest, while pumping by means of electric systems would be one-fourth as expensive.

In view of this fact, some rice producers located in the Seventh Section of Treinta y Tres, basin of the Olimar and Cebollati rivers, have requested the UTE [General Administration of State Electric Power and Telephones] to estimate the cost of laying a high-power line approximately 50 kilometers long, which would connect the city of Treinta y Tres with Picada de Techera.

Once they get the cost estimate from the electric power entity, the producers having an interest in the project will contact other farmers and ranchers in the area for possible inclusion in this network.

If the initiative becomes a reality, we would be witnessing the first known attempt to replace diesel pumps with electric-powered systems for the irrigation of rice.

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## VENEZUELA

### BRIEFS

BARQUISIMETO RADIO STATIONS SEIZURE--Caracas, 8 Sep (AFP)--The news agency, INNAC, announced today that 5 radio stations in Barquisimeto, 360 km west of here, were seized by their employees on Thursday and have been broadcasting only Venezuelan music, union bulletins and statements in support of the workers. According to INNAC, until before the seizure of the stations, the employees had been staging staggered strikes, but they changed their stance when Corsa, the company managing the radio stations, refused to continue discussing their list of demands. On Thursday morning, the workers seized the offices of radio stations Barquisimeto, Cristal, Lara, Juventud and Universo, all of which operate from a single building in the city of Barquisimeto, capital of the small Lara state. According to INNAC, 60 workers, including announcers, technical operators, administrative personnel, newsmen and workers, have seized control of the radio stations. [Text] [Paris AFP in Spanish 0104 GMT 9 Sep 79 PA]

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4 Oct 79

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